JOURNAL OF THE

EUROPEAN ĀYURVEDIC SOCIETY

Editors

RAHUL PETER DAS RONALD ERIC EMMERICK

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Rudi Paul Labadie (Netherlands) Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (Netherlands)
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Volume 2 (1992)

Dr. Inge Wezler
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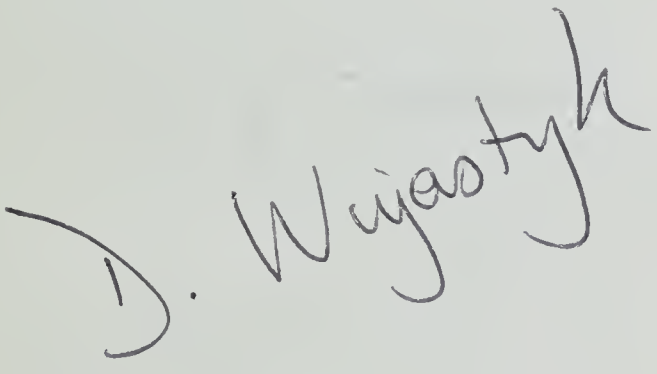

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The Characteristics of a *Doṣa*

GERRIT JAN MEULENBELD

The classical treatises on āyurveda are in large measure dominated by the doctrine of the *doṣa*s,[1] but nevertheless they do not specify which characteristics determine that a particular constituent of the body belongs to that group. Systematic expositions on this subject are not found in the commentaries on the classical Saṃhitās either. It may therefore be useful to collect material which sheds light on those properties which are decisive in making a constitutive element of the body a *doṣa*.

The term *doṣa* has to be amplified in a discussion regarding its nature since, like many āyurvedic terms, it is employed in a wide and in a narrow sense. In the wide sense[2] the word covers, besides the three *doṣa*s, the seven *dhātu*s[3] and the *mala*s[4] when these are subject to corruption or imbalance, and is moreover applied to disorders,[5] as appears from the use of terms like *agnidoṣa*[6], *āmapradoṣa*[7], *grahaṇīdoṣa*[8] and *tvagdoṣa*[9]. *Doṣa*s in the narrow sense are *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha*.

The determination of the characteristics of a *doṣa* in the strict sense is all the more necessary since the boundaries between *doṣa*s and *dhātu*s are far from sharp in many respects. Apart from the fact that a *doṣa* is called a *dhātu* when in a balanced state,[10] a large number of processes usually described with respect to the *doṣa*s can obviously occur with regard to the *dhātu*s as well.[11]

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[1] The chapter of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that describes the *marman*s (Śā. 6) forms an exception, being dominated not by the *tridoṣavāda*, but by the theory of the five *mahābhūta*s.

[2] Constituents of the body may be called *doṣa* when they possess *pīḍākartṛtva* (Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Sū. 1.57).

[3] Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Ci. 1.67 and 6.55; Ḍalhaṇa ad Suśr., U. 66.6cd-7ab.

[4] Aruṇadatta ad Ah., Sū. 1.6cd; Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Sū. 1.57; Ḍalhaṇa ad Suśr., U. 66.6cd-7ab; Śivadāsasena ad *Cakradatta*, jvara 47.

[5] Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Sū. 24.19; Śrīkaṇṭhadatta ad *Mādhavanidāna* 59.38cd-40.

[6] As., Śā. 6.22; Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Ci. 15.71.

[7] Ca., Sū. 23.6.

[8] Ca., Ci. 15.71; Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Ci. 15.94-95.

[9] Suśr., Sū. 14.34 and 24.9.

[10] Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Ci. 21.15.

[11] See my paper 'The constraints of theory in the evolution of nosological classifications: A study on the position of blood in Indian medicine', pp. 91-106 in: *Medical literature from India, Sri Lanka and Tibet* (= Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Kern Institute, Leiden: August 23-29, 1987, General editor: J. Bronkhorst), Leiden 1991.

Yet the medical treatises convey the impression that a cluster of characteristics might be peculiar to a *doṣa* and thus distinguish it from a *dhātu*.

The commentators on the classical Saṃhitās refer to a set of ear-marks which they regard as distinctive for a *doṣa*. Three of these will be discussed: (1) the ability to corrupt all those constituents of the body which belong to the category *dūṣya*, (2) the ability to initiate processes leading to the manifestation of a disease, and (3) the ability to dominate a constitution.

The question to be answered is whether or not these characteristics are indeed distinctive with regard to a *doṣa*.

Taking a closer look at the concept of *dūṣaṇatva*, i.e., the ability of corrupting the *dūṣya*s, we discover that it is not restricted to the *doṣa*s at all. Many constituents of the body may cause *duṣṭi* of other constituents, which means that they possess *dūṣaṇatva*. Numerous substances, when ingested, as well as a variety of behavioural patterns and environmental factors, are also endowed with it. The concept of *dūṣaṇatva* appears to lack precision on account of its wide range. It may also be that the *dūṣaṇatva* of the *doṣa*s and other types of *dūṣaṇatva* are not exactly the same. This problem is broached in the *Carakasaṃhitā* which states, apparently in a straightforward way, that *dhātu*s and channels (*srotāṃsi*), when corrupted, are able to corrupt other *dhātu*s and channels (Vi. 5.9); however, it adds as an afterthought that actually the three *doṣa*s are the causes of these corrupted states by reason of their inherent nature (*svabhāva*). This is clearly nothing but a *petitio principii* and is not helpful at all in elucidating the character of the *dūṣaṇatva* of *dhātu*s and channels. The commentator Cakrapāṇidatta is more explicit and remarks that corrupted *dhātu*s and channels can corrupt only adjacent *dhātu*s and channels by means of transmission of the *doṣa*. Cakrapāṇidatta's description of this contagious type of corruption serves to support the theory that only the *doṣa*s are endowed with *dūṣaṇatva*; his explanation gives the impression of being an effort to save the theory.

However that may be, evidence pointing to *dūṣaṇatva* as a property common to many elements involved in the production of disorders can easily be collected.

The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* contains a line (Sū. 11.35cd) describing a series of processes: intake of unhealthy food corrupts the *doṣa*s, which subsequently, corrupt the *dhātu*s, both the corrupted *doṣa*s and the corrupted *dhātu*s then inducing corruption of the *mala*s; finally, the corrupted *mala*s cause corruption of the channels in which they are transported (11.36). It is hard to imagine how Cakrapāṇidatta would have interpreted this verse which seems to say that the *dhātu*s themselves are *dūṣaṇa*, not only the *doṣa*s lodged in them. The commentators Indu, Candranandana, Aruṇadatta, Hemādri, and Śrīdāsapaṇḍita abstain from explaining the processes involved.

Another constituent of the body endowed with *dūṣaṇatva* is the fire, i.e., the digestive fire or even the whole series of metabolic fires. The *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* (Śā. 6.22) says that corruption of the *doṣa*s is usually (*prāyaḥ*) brought about by a disturbance (*doṣa*) of the fire. This statement is very interesting. Āyurvedic theorists were divided regarding the nature of the digestive and metabolic fires. Some regarded fire as identical with *pitta*,[12] in particular with *pācakapitta*, others as different from *pitta*,[13] others again as

[12] Suśr., Sū. 21.9.

[13] Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Sū. 12.11 and Ni. 1.24.

something in between.[14] The statement of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* precludes the identity of *agni* and *pitta*. The assumption that the two are separate entities leads to the view that disturbances of the fire or fires have to be seen as the primary cause of disease, followed by imbalance of the *doṣa*s. This theory is strikingly similar to one found especially in the later stages of āyurveda, where disturbances of digestion resulting in the production of *āma* dominate the practice of medicine.[15]

Corruption of the *doṣa*s and *dhātu*s may also be the result of the intake of particular articles of food and drugs, which are thus seen to be endowed with *dūṣaṇatva*. The *Carakasaṃhitā* states (Sū. 1.67) that some substances alleviate the *doṣa*s whereas others corrupt the *doṣa*s and *dhātu*s. Ḍalhaṇa also says (ad Suśr., Sū. 20.20) that some substances corrupt the *doṣa*s, others the *dhātu*s; he adds that both types of corruption lead to disease. An arbitrary example is *dadhi*, which, if too sour (*atyamla*), corrupts the blood (Suśr., Sū. 45.66). Another example is *dūṣīviṣa*, which corrupts the blood; subsequently, the corrupted blood makes the *doṣa*s corrupted (Gayadāsa ad Suśr., Ni. 7.11cd-14a). The last example proves that a primary corruption of a *dhātu* may be the cause of a secondary corruption of a *doṣa*.

The processes which I have tried to delineate raise a number of questions. Does primary corruption of a *dhātu* differ from the corruption by a *doṣa*? Does a *doṣa*, corrupted by a *dhātu*, secondarily invade the *dhātu*, thus increasing the already existing corruption or causing another type of corruption? Is there any difference between the *dūṣaṇatva* of a *doṣa* and a *dhātu*?

Answers to these questions are not there for the taking. An interesting discussion on the nature of a *doṣa*, found in the *Madhukośa* (ad *Mādhavanidāna* 1.14cd-15ab), is, however, illuminating. Vijayarakṣita asks himself what may be the nature (*doṣatva* "*doṣa*-hood") of a *doṣa*. Some, according to Vijayarakṣita, are of the opinion that the *doṣatva* of a *doṣa* consists in its ability to bring about, independently, corruption (*dūṣakatva*); the specification "independently" (*svātantryeṇa*) serves to differentiate between a *doṣa* and a *dhātu* because a *dhātu*, being *dūṣya*, can only cause corruption of other *dūṣya*s if corrupted by a *doṣa*. Vijayarakṣita refers with approval to other authorities who are dissatisfied with the above definition on account of the vagueness of the word "independently". In addition, these authorities argue that the *doṣa*s are not completely independent since their corrupting ability becomes manifest only under the influence of a variety of factors belonging to the category called *nidāna*.

Although Vijayarakṣita does not answer our questions, he clearly states that a *doṣa* is not adequately characterized by its *dūṣakatva*. Nevertheless, other commentators hold views which are close to the position rejected by Vijayarakṣita, and maintain that *dūṣaṇatva* or *dūṣakatva* is the essential characteristic of a *doṣa* by reason of its *dūṣaṇasvabhāvatva* or *dūṣakatvasvabhāva*.[16] The definition that stresses the independence of the *doṣa*s in causing corruption of the *dūṣya*s and the latter's dependence is accepted by Aruṇadatta, who also contends that the *dhātu*s are completely unable to

[14] Cakrapāṇidatta ad Ca., Ni. 1.37-40.

[15] See Daniel C. Tabor, 'Ripe and unripe. Concepts of health and sickness in ayurvedic medicine', *Social Science and Medicine*, 15, 1981, 439-455.

[16] Aruṇadatta ad Ah., Sū. 1.13; Hemādri ad Ah., Sū. 7.51.

corrupt the *doṣa*s (ad Ah., Sū. 1.6cd). Etymological arguments prove to be the ultimate criterion for Aruṇadatta.[17]

The conclusion to be drawn from this first part of our investigation is that *dūṣaṇatva* in itself is not distinctive for a *doṣa*, being shared by other constituents of the body.

Surprisingly, the commentators fail to emphasize another characteristic of a *doṣa* as distinctive, namely its ability, when in a corrupted state, to coalesce with one or more of the *dhātu*s. This coalescence, called *sammūrchana* or *saṃsarga*, is usually, although not absolutely,[18] a necessary step in the production of a disease.

The next characteristic of a *doṣa* to be discussed is its *ārambhakatva*. This concept is employed again in a wide and in a narrow sense. It is used in a wide sense, for example, in the description of a particular disease as being *ārambhaka*, i.e. able to generate another disease.[19] In a narrow sense, however, it is usually applied to the *doṣa*s. Exceptions do occur. An example is found in the description of a minor disease (*kṣudraroga*) called *maṣaka*, characterized as being set in motion (*ārabdha*) by *medas*, the abdominal fatty tissue, together with *kapha* and *vāta*.[20] More remarkable is the finding that blood is repeatedly regarded as *ārambhaka* in particular disorders. Blood is said to be *ārambhaka* in *vātarakta*[21], *apacī*[22], and *vartmakardama*[23]. These examples illustrate that even in its narrow sense the term *ārambhakatva* is not free from impreciseness.

A concept related to *ārambhakatva* is *kartṛtva*. In āyurvedic theory the relationship between *doṣa* and *dūṣya* is sometimes said to be as close as that between *kartṛ* and *karman*,[24] which means that the one cannot do without the other, and that the interaction between *doṣa* and *dhātu* is an absolute requirement in the causation of a disease.

It is possible to conclude that, in general, *ārambhakatva* and *kartṛtva* are rather specific characteristics of a *doṣa*, but that it has to be taken into consideration that these terms are also applied to blood.

Finally, we have to discuss the third characteristic of a *doṣa*, i.e., *prakṛtyārambhakatva*, a term denoting the ability of a *doṣa* to determine the constitution of a human being. The Saṃhitās of Caraka and Suśruta, the works of Vāgbhaṭa, and many later treatises describe constitutions governed by one or more of the *doṣa*s. The thesis that *prakṛtyārambhakatva* is a property exclusively inherent in a *doṣa* and therefore a distinctive characteristic is met with in the works of commentators. Cakrapāṇidatta is one of those

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[17] See his comments on Ah., Sū. 1.6cd: *anvarthanāmatvāc ca vātādīnām eva doṣatvam*.

[18] Some forms of *gulma* are an exception, being caused by the *doṣa*s without any interaction with one or more of the *dhātu*s (see, e.g., Suśr., Ni. 9.28cd-33; Suśr., Ci. 42.6cd-7ab; *Madhukośa* ad *Mādhavanidāna* 28.17-20.

[19] Ḍalhaṇa ad Suśr., U. 24.16cd-17.

[20] Gayadāsa ad Suśr., Ni. 13.42.

[21] Vijayarakṣita ad *Mādhavanidāna* 23.8-12.

[22] Śrīkaṇṭhadatta ad *Mādhavanidāna* 38.26.

[23] Ḍalhaṇa ad Suśr., U. 3.19.

[24] See Aruṇadatta ad Ah., Sū. 1.13.

who ardently support this thesis. Vijayarakṣita states explicitly[25] that the combined presence of *dūṣaṇatva* and *prakṛtyārambhakatva* is to be regarded as decisive in distinguishing a *doṣa* from a *dhātu*.

My own conclusion is that, if the Saṃhitās do indeed presuppose a characteristic distinguishing a *doṣa* from other constituents of the body, in particular the *dhātu*s, it is the combination of *ārambhakatva* and *prakṛtyārambhakatva*. This conclusion does not imply that the term *doṣa* can be employed with respect to *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha* only, since *ārambhakatva* and even *prakṛtyārambhakatva* can be applied to blood as well, which of course brings up the problem of whether blood too might not have been regarded as a *doṣa*.[26]

ABBREVIATIONS

Ah.	*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*	Śā.	Śārīrasthāna
As.	*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*	Suśr.	*Suśrutasaṃhitā*
Ca.	*Carakasaṃhitā*	Sū.	Sūtrasthāna
Ci.	Cikitsāsthāna/Cikitsitasthāna	U.	Uttarasthāna/Uttaratantra
Ni.	Nidānasthāna	Vi.	Vimānasthāna

[25] Ad *Mādhavanidāna* 1.14cd-15ab.

[26] On the problem of blood see my article on 'Conformities and divergences of basic āyurvedic concepts in veterinary texts', *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, 1, 1990, 1-6, and the paper cited in note 11.

Miscellanea de Operibus Āyurvedicis (II)*

RAHUL PETER DAS

26. Problems of constructions with *yasya* and *yasyāḥ*

In Das, p.48 and p.63, I had translated the verses *Su*, Ut 56.4 and *Su*, Ut 25.6 respectively as anacoluthic constructions. These translations are given below, with a small clarificatory change (the translation in the first case being conditional upon *ti* actually standing for *iti*, on which see l.c.):

sūcībhir iva gātrāṇi tudan santiṣṭhate 'nilaḥ
yasyājīrṇena sā vaidyair ucyate ti visūcikā (56.4)
'Stinging whose body-members, as if with needles, the wind abides, together with digestive disorder, that (i.e. the affliction) [of that person] is by physicians called thus: *visūcikā-*.'

yasyoṣṇam aṅgāracitaṃ yathaiva dahyeta dhūpyeta śiro'kṣināsam
śītena rātrau ca bhaved viśeṣaḥ śirobhitāpaḥ sa tu pittakopāt (25.6)
'Whose head, eyes and nose should [happen to] be inflamed [and] burn, hot as if heaped with coals, [of whose affliction] a favourable turn should [happen to] transpire due to cold and at night, that (i.e. the affliction) [of that person], intense pain in the head, is however due to the excitation of bile.'

Prof. Dr. Toshifumi Gotō (Osaka) was kind enough to point out to me that actually *yasya* here might have been used in the sense of *yadi kasyacid* (or the like) (cf. on this usage Speijer, § 459.3, also Delbrück, p.562 and, on *ya-* used indefinitively, Renou, § 261). Should this be the case, then the translation of Ut 56.4 would be:

'That is by physicians called thus: *visūcikā-*, if, stinging someone's body-members, as if with needles, the wind abides, together with digestive disorder.'

The translation of Ut 25.6 would likewise be:

'The intense pain in the head is however due to the excitation of bile if someone's head, eyes and nose should [happen to] be inflamed [and] burn, hot as if heaped with coals, [and if] a favourable turn should happen to transpire due to cold and at night.'

I must confess that I did not hit upon this solution at once, which is all the more embarrassing since I had often come across verses in medical texts, especially such describing afflictions etc., with similar constructions in which *yasya* seems indeed to have been used in the sense of *yadi kasyacid*; in fact such constructions are in general more often than not translated with this sense being assumed. Nevertheless, I also recollected that (a) not all medical texts seem to make use of this construction, and (b) one sometimes does have difficulties in explaining such constructions in this way. In this connection I may also point out that this mode of translating *yasya* by assuming it to stand for *yadi kasyacid* is actually a convention the justification of which has not yet been examined in the necessary detail; since we are however concerned with medical texts only, such a discussion, which must take into account a vast corpus of literature, cannot be embarked upon here. I must therefore content myself with drawing attention to the

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* Vide *JEĀS*, 1, 1990, 47-68.

fact that, though we do have many cases in which the construction described above is employed, and though the convention of translating mentioned usually seems to serve its purpose pretty well in explaining such cases, this construction seems to be on the one hand limited in its use, and on the other not in all cases explainable by means of this convention without difficulty.

To gain clarity on these latter points I went through the four "classical" texts (*Ah*, *As*, *Ca* and *Su*) as well as the *Siddhasāra* looking for similar constructions not only with *yasya*, but also with *yasyāḥ*. Though I did strive for completeness, I cannot rule out that more such constructions than are mentioned below may yet turn up. But even though there is this chance that they may not be complete, the results still seem to be fairly representative; it does not look as if more such constructions found in these texts would change the overall picture much. This overall picture is most interesting, for, considering only *yasya* for now, to my great surprise I found *not a single case* of such a construction with *yasya* in *Ah* and *As*, and only *one* possible case in the *Siddhasāra*, namely in 1.43:

pānāhārādayo yasya viruddhāḥ prakṛter api
sukhatvāyopakalpante tat sātmyam iti gadyate.

As regards *Ca*, my search turned up only four clear examples from this text. These are:

aviśuddhaḥ svaro yasya kaṇṭhaś ca sakapho bhavet
stimito mastakaś caivam apītaṃ dhūmam ādiśet (Sū 5.53cd-54ab),
tattvajñāne smṛtir yasya rajomohāvṛtātmanaḥ
bhraśyate sa smṛtibhraṃśaḥ smartavyaṃ hi smṛtau sthitam (Śā 1.101),
pittam ūṣmānugaṃ yasya śaṅkhau prāpya vimūrchati
sa rogaḥ śaṅkhako nāmnā trirātrād dhanti jīvitam (In 9.20)
(variant: *viśuṣyate* for *vimūrchati*),
kuryāt sapittaḥ pavanas tvagādīn sandūṣya cārūṃṣi sapākavanti
nāsā pradīpteva narasya yasya dīptaṃ tu taṃ rogam udāharanti (Ci 26.117).

As regards the first case, one could consider seeing in *apītaṃ dhūmam ādiśet* ('one should specify the vapour as not imbibed [properly]'), which in this form refers to the vapour, a mistake for *apītadhūmam ādiśet* ('one should specify [him] as one through whom the vapour has not been imbibed [properly]'), correlating to 'he whose voice is not clear ...'; such a mistake might have been occasioned through the influence of *supītaṃ dhūmam ādiśet* in Sū 5.53ab, where the construction cannot but refer to the vapour (52cd-53ab: *yadā coraś ca kaṇṭhaś ca śiraś ca laghutāṃ vrajet / kaphaś ca tanutāṃ prāptaḥ supītaṃ dhūmam ādiśet*). Since however the editions I consulted all read *apītaṃ dhūmam*, this must remain speculation unless substantiated by other evidence.

Another case of what might be an example for the *yasya* construction which is being considered here is in fact most peculiar. It is preceded by a long passage (Sū 18.19-33) containing a large number of unproblematic relative constructions with *yasya* in which both relative and correlative pronoun refer to the person afflicted. This is followed by the problematic passage Sū 18.34-36, which states:

vātapittakaphā yasya yugapat kupitās trayaḥ
jihvāmūle 'vatiṣṭhante vidahantaḥ samucchritāḥ (34)
janayanti bhṛśaṃ śothaṃ vedanāś ca pṛthagvidhāḥ
taṃ śīghrakāriṇaṃ rogaṃ rohiṇīti vinirdiśet (35)
trirātraṃ paramaṃ tasya jantor bhavati jīvitam
kuśalena tv anukrāntaḥ kṣipraṃ sampadyate sukhī (36).

Here we have a construction with correlated *yasya* and *tasya* (both referring to the person afflicted), as in the case of the verses preceding. The difference is that we also have an inserted sentence beginning with *tam* (referring to the affliction), which does not seem to have any correlating relative pronoun. Do we have a text-critical problem here? On the other hand, it could be that *tasya* applies not only to verse 36, but also to 35cd: *yasya ... janayanti ... [tasya] taṃ ... vinirdiśet, ... tasya ... bhavati*; in other words, we could have an anacoluthic construction. But we cannot dismiss out of hand either the possibility that *yasya* has been used in the sense of *yadi kasyacid* here, and that *tam* is to be construed with it as such; *tasya* could correlate without difficulty with *kasyacid* too.

I also found another verse which looks as if it might be another example of the *yasya* construction we are considering here, but actually *yasya* in it seems not to refer to the person afflicted, but the affliction:

amartyavāgvikramavīryaceṣṭo jñānādivijñānabalādibhir yaḥ
unmādakālo 'niyataś ca yasya bhūtottham unmādam udāharet tam (Ci 9.17)

(variant according to Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary: *niyataś* for *'niyataś*).

'One should declare that madness through/in the case of which speech, power, vigour and activity are non-human through knowledge (?) (*vijñāna-*) [such as] other-worldly knowledge (?) (*jñāna-*) etc., and strength etc., and whose time of madness (i.e. time of appearance) is not fixed (variant: fixed), [to be] arisen through ghosts.'

Admittedly, combining *unmādakālo ... yasya* 'whose ... time of madness' with *unmāda-* does cause some difficulty, but the construction is nevertheless possible. One might still consider taking *yasya* as *yadi kasyacid* to refer to the person afflicted, and that would then have to hold good for *yaḥ* (then = *yadi kaścid*) too:

'If someone is [a person] whose speech, power, vigour and activity are non-human through knowledge (?) [such as] other-worldly knowledge (?) etc., and strength etc., and if someone's time of madness is not fixed (variant: fixed), one should declare that madness [to be] arisen through ghosts.'

One could of course opine that *unmāda-* here is not a noun, but an adjective; *unmādam udāharet tam* would then be 'one should declare him mad'. This adjectival use of *unmāda-*, though common in some New Indo-Aryan languages, is however rare in Sanskrit, and in any case to my knowledge not otherwise found in the "classical" medical texts. Moreover, it appears doubtful whether 'arisen through ghosts' (*bhūtottha-*) would really qualify an adjective. As such, though the possibility of *unmāda-* being an adjective here cannot be categorically ruled out, there are reservations to considering this explanation viable.

Yet another verse in which *yasya* seems to have been used in the sense of *yadi kasyacid* is Sū 18.9:

śūyante yasya gātrāṇi svapantīva rujanti ca
pīḍitāny unnamanty āśu vātaśothaṃ tam ādiśet

(variant: *spandantīva* for *svapantīva*).

If we take *yasya* here to stand in the above sense, we obtain:

'If someone's body members swell, seem to sleep (i.e. probably: are without sensation) (variant: seem to throb), and pain, [and,] pressed, raise themselves soon, one should designate that as intumescence due to wind (*vātaśotha-*).'

Cakrapāṇidatta says hardly anything on this verse in his commentary. Śivadāsasena in his commentary (*Carakatattvapradīpikā. ŚrīŚivadāsasenakṛtā Carakasaṃhitā-vyākhyā (sūtrasthānam)*, ed. by Priyavrataśarman and Satyadeva Dube, Jay'pur 1990) says more,

but he ultimately simply reproduces the construction: *vātena yasyāṅgāni svāpayuktānīva bhūtvā tathā rujāyuktāni ca bhūtvā śūyanta ityādi svapanti rujanti śothavanti syus taṃ vātaśotham ādiśet ity arthaḥ*. Now the evidence sifted so far seems to show that a construction in which we could assume *yasya* to stand for *yadi kasyacid* is rare in *Ca*; might one therefore not have expected Śivadāsasena to have said something on this construction in a sentence of his commentary in which he reproduces it? Of course we do not know whether such an expectation is in actual fact justified, but when one looks at the commentator's statement in an unbiased manner, one is rather tempted to read it as a straightforward relative sentence in which *yasya* is to be construed with *tam*, which would mean that *vātaśotha-* designates not the affliction, but the person afflicted. Should one now apply this to the verse in question, one ends up with:

> 'One should designate him whose body members swell, seem to sleep (variant: throb), and pain, [and,] pressed, raise themselves soon, as *vātaśotha-*.'

The reason for considering this interpretation is that in Sū 18.12 we find a similar construction, but with *yaḥ* in the place of *yasya*:

> *yaḥ pītanetravaktratvak pūrvaṃ madhyāt praśūyate*
> *tanutvak cātisārī ca pittaśothaḥ sa ucyate*

(variant: *pītamukhanetratvak* for *pītanetravaktratvak*).

Should *yaḥ* refer to the person afflicted, the translation would be:

> 'He is called *pittaśotha-* whose eyes, face (variant: whose face, eyes) and skin are yellow, [who] first swells from the middle, whose skin is thin and [who] is characterised by diarrhoea.'

But *yaḥ* could just as well refer to the affliction itself:

> 'That is called intumescence due to bile (*pittaśotha-*) in/due to which eyes, face (variant: face, eyes) and skin are yellow, [which] first swells from the middle, in/due to/of which the skin is thin and [which] is characterised by diarrhoea.'

The question is of course whether *vātaśotha-* and *pittaśotha-* can indeed be used to describe the person afflicted by these special forms of intumescence (*śotha-*). If at all possible, then they would have to mean '[he] whose intumescence is due to/through/because of wind/bile'. The other descriptions of different types of *śotha-* (or *śvayathu-*) in the context in question (*Ca*, Sū 18.9-36) use other sorts of constructions, and are thus of no help here. I have also found no parallels in other medical texts in which similar compounds with *śotha-*, *śvayathu-* or *śopha-* could be taken to refer to the person afflicted. However in principle such compounds are possible; cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner II.1, §§ 107b; 109. But it should be noted that op. cit., § 109aβ (see also the addenda) would seem to speak against an instrumental meaning of the prior member of the compound, and an ablatival prior member is not even mentioned l.c. A genitival prior member remains possible, though not very probable. In the face of these considerations it would seem that in Sū 18.12 *yaḥ* does indeed refer to the affliction, and that *yasya* in 18.9 is not to be construed with *tam*, i.e. that the latter verse is another example for the *yasya* construction being considered here, even though Śivadāsasena's commentary might be taken to mean otherwise.

There is however yet another possibility, namely that *yaḥ* in Sū 18.12 might have been used as an equivalent of *yadi kaścid* or the like; this possibility is discussed further below. Should this indeed be the case, then of course one has even more grounds for considering such a possibility in the case of *yasya* in Sū 18.9.

Apart from this, there is also the possibility that actually all we have are anacoluthic constructions in which we have to supply missing correlatives. Thus *Ca*, Sū 18.9 would be:

'One should designate that [of him] whose body members swell, seem to sleep (i.e. probably: are without sensation) (variant: to throb), and pain, [and,] pressed, raise themselves soon, as intumescence due to wind (*vātaśotha-*).'

Similarly we would obtain for Sū 18.12:

'That is called intumescence due to bile (*pittaśotha-*) [(in the case) of him] who, as one whose eyes, face (variant: face, eyes) and skin are yellow, first swells from the middle, and [who], as one whose skin is thin, is characterised by diarrhoea.'

This alternative analysis as an anacoluthic construction however holds good for the *yasya* constructions discussed here in general (on the construction with *yaḥ* in *Ca*, Sū 18.12 see below). However, this consideration applies for *Ca*, Sū 18.9 and Ci 9.17 only if we can take them to belong to this category of constructions in the first place, as they might also be explained differently. But even with Ci 9.17 and Sū 18.9 (and maybe also 18.34f., on which see below) we obtain hardly a handful of examples from *Ca* for *yasya* being used in a manner in which we could take it to stand for *yadi kasyacid*.

By contrast, *Su* abounds in such constructions. Apart from the two already mentioned, these are:

śarīraśīlayor yasya prakṛter vikṛtir bhavet
tat tv ariṣṭaṃ samāsena vyāsatas tu nibodha me (Sū 30.3),
udgāraśuddhāv api bhaktakāṅkṣā na jāyate hṛdgurutā ca yasya
rasāvaśeṣeṇa tu saprasekaṃ caturtham etat pravadanty ajīrṇam (Sū 46.503),
nibaddhaḥ śvayathur yasya muṣkaval lambate gale
mahān vā yadi vā hrasvo galagaṇḍaṃ tam ādiśet (Ni 11.29)
(variant: *hrasvas taṃ gaṇḍam iti nirdiśet* for *hrasvo galagaṇḍaṃ tam ādiśet*),
avedanaṃ sthiraṃ caiva yasya gātreṣu dṛśyate
māṣavat kṛṣṇam utsannam anilān maṣakaṃ vadet (Ni 13.42),
alpīyaḥkhāṃ yadā harṣād bālāṃ gacchet striyaṃ naraḥ
hastābhighātād athavā carmaṇy udvartite balāt
mardanāt pīḍanād vāpi śukravegavighātataḥ
yasyāvapāṭyate carma tāṃ vidyād avapāṭikām (Ni 13.50cd-52ab)
(variants: *alpīyasīṃ* for *alpīyaḥkhāṃ*, *balād* for *bālāṃ*),
kṛṣṇāni citrāṇy athavā śūkāni saviṣāṇi ca
patitāni pacanty āśu meḍhraṃ niravaśeṣataḥ
kālāni bhūtvā māṃsāni śīryante yasya dehinaḥ
sannipātasamutthānaṃ taṃ vidyāt tilakālakam (Ni 14.16f.),
sphoṭaiḥ satodair vadanaṃ samantād yasyācitaṃ sarvasaraḥ sa vātāt
raktaiḥ sadāhais tanubhiḥ sapītair yasyācitaṃ cāpi sa pittakopāt
kaṇḍūyutair alparujaiḥ savarṇair yasyācitaṃ cāpi sa vai kaphena
raktena pittodita eka eva kaiścit pradiṣṭo mukhapākasaṃjñaḥ (Ni 16.65f.)
(variant: *avedanaiḥ kaṇḍūyutaiḥ sadāhair* for *kaṇḍūyutair alparujaiḥ savarṇair*),
udarān medaso vartir nirgatā yasya dehinaḥ
kaṣāyabhasmamṛtkīrṇāṃ baddhvā sūtreṇa sūtravit
agnitaptena śastreṇa chindyān madhusamāyutam
baddhvā vraṇaṃ sujīrṇe 'nne sarpiṣaḥ pānam iṣyate (Ci 2.45cd-47ab),
vartmopacīyate yasya piḍakābhiḥ samantataḥ

savarṇābhiḥ samābhiś ca vidyād bahalavartma tat (Ut 3.16),
yasya dhautāni dhautāni sambadhyante punaḥ punaḥ
vartmāny aparipakvāni vidyād aklinnavartma tat
vimuktasandhi niśceṣṭaṃ vartma yasya na mīlyate
etad vātahataṃ vidyāt sarujaṃ yadi vārujam (Ut 3.22f.),
sañchādyate śvetanibhena sarvaṃ doṣeṇa yasyāsitamaṇḍalaṃ tu
tam akṣipākātyayam akṣikopasamutthitaṃ tīvrarujaṃ vadanti (Ut 5.9cd-10ab)
(variants: *śvetaḥ samākrāmati sarvato hi* for *sañchādyate śvetanibhena sarvaṃ*, *akṣirogaṃ sarvātmakaṃ varjayitavyam āhuḥ* for *akṣikopasamutthitaṃ tīvrarujaṃ vadanti*),
yasyāvaṭūkarṇaśirohanustho manyāgato vāpy anilo 'nyato vā
kuryād rujo 'ti bhruvi locane vā tam anyatovātam udāharanti (Ut 6.27),
avedanā vāpi savedanā vā yasyākṣirājyo hi bhavanti tāmrāḥ
muhur virajyanti ca tāḥ samantād vyādhiḥ sirotpāta iti pradiṣṭaḥ (Ut 6.29),
śokajvarāyāsaśiro'bhitāpair abhyāhatā yasya narasya dṛṣṭiḥ
sadhūmakān paśyati sarvabhāvāṃs taṃ dhūmadarśīti vadanti rogam (Ut 7.39),
doṣair vidagdhair galatālumūle saṃvāsito yasya samīraṇas tu
nireti pūtir mukhanāsikābhyāṃ taṃ pūtināsaṃ pravadanti rogam (Ut 22.7cd-8ab),
ghrāṇāśrite marmaṇi sampraduṣṭe yasyānilo nāsikayā nireti
kaphānuyāto bahuśaḥ saśabdas taṃ rogam āhuḥ kṣavathuṃ vidhijñāḥ (Ut 22.11cd-12ab)
(variant: *sampraduṣṭaḥ* for *sampraduṣṭe*),
ghrāṇe bhṛśaṃ dāhasamanvite tu viniḥsared dhūma iveha vāyuḥ
nāsā pradīpteva ca yasya jantor vyādhiṃ tu taṃ dīptam udāharanti (Ut 22.14cd-15ab),
ajasram acchaṃ salilaprakāśaṃ yasyāvivarṇaṃ sravatīha nāsā
rātrau viśeṣeṇa hi taṃ vikāraṃ nāsāparisrāvam iti vyavasyet (Ut 22.16cd-17ab)
(cf. this verse with *Ca*, Ci 26.117 quoted above on p.7),
yasyānimittaṃ śiraso rujaś ca bhavanti tīvrā niśi cātimātram
bandhopatāpaiś ca bhaved viśeṣaḥ śiro'bhitāpaḥ sa samīraṇena (Ut 25.5),
śirogalaṃ yasya kaphopadigdhaṃ guru pratiṣṭabdham atho himaṃ ca
śūnākṣikūṭaṃ vadanaṃ ca yasya śirobhitāpaḥ sa kaphaprakopāt (Ut 25.7),
(variant: *śirobhavaṃ* for *śirogalaṃ*),
nistudyate yasya śiro 'timātraṃ sambhakṣyamāṇaṃ sphuṭatīva cāntaḥ
ghrāṇāc ca gacchet salilaṃ saraktaṃ śiro'bhitāpaḥ kṛmibhiḥ sa ghoraḥ (Ut 25.10cd-11ab)
(variant: *sphuratīva* for *sphuṭatīva*),
kiñcid ārabhamāṇasya yasya śvāsaḥ pravartate
niṣaṇṇasyaiti śāntiṃ ca sa kṣudra iti saṃjñitaḥ (Ut 51.7),
duṣṭaṃ tu bhuktaṃ kaphamārutābhyāṃ pravartate nordhvam adhaś ca yasya
vilambikāṃ tāṃ bhṛśaduścikitsyām ācakṣate śāstravidaḥ purāṇāḥ (Ut 56.9)
(variant: *tu vivarjanīyām* for *bhṛśaduścikitsyām*),
bastau vāpy athavā nāle maṇau vā yasya dehinaḥ
mūtraṃ pravṛttaṃ sajjeta saraktaṃ vā pravāhataḥ
sravec chanair alpam alpaṃ sarujaṃ vātha nīrujam
viguṇānilajo vyādhiḥ sa mūtrotsaṅgasaṃjñitaḥ (Ut 58.15f.)
(variants: *saktaṃ cāpi* and *saṃsaktaṃ vā* for *saraktaṃ vā*)
abhyantare bastimukhe vṛtto 'lpaḥ sthira eva ca
vedanāvān ati sadā mūtramārganirodhanaḥ

jāyate sahasā yasya granthir aśmarilakṣaṇaḥ
sa mūtragranthir ity evam ucyate vedanādibhiḥ (Ut 58.18f.)
(variants: *abhiṣyandī* for *ati sadā*, *vedavādibhiḥ* for *vedanādibhiḥ*).

Apart from these, there are some more examples which pose special problems and will thus be discussed below.

In all the cases given above, taking *yasya* to stand for *yadi kasyacid* or the like would permit us to obtain meaningful analyses and thus translations. That one might indeed consider at least *yadi* 'if' to be presupposed might be deduced from constructions such as e.g. Ut 51.11:

ādhmāto dahyamānena bastinā sarujaṃ naraḥ
sarvaprāṇena vicchinnaṃ śvasyāc chinnaṃ tam ādiśet
'If a man, puffed up, with burning bladder, should breathe [only] painfully, interruptedly, with all [his] energy (or: cut off from all breath), one should designate it (the respiratory malfunction) as *chinna-*.'

Note the optative (*śvasyāt*) in this verse, which would fit with a postulated *intended yadi* (on this use of the optative cf. also *Vṛk*, pp.508f.). Note too in this context the use of optative forms, either in the main or in the relative clause, in some (though not all) of the examples given above. On the other hand, the use of such forms in verse might be due simply to metrical considerations, especially since there is often hardly any discernible difference between the optative and the indicative forms. Nevertheless, since the diagnosis of a disorder depends on the perception of certain factors, i.e. since the former is conditional upon the latter, in such contexts at least the assumption that the optatives do indeed have a conditional function does seem very probable. Thus in Ut 51.11 too the symptoms described are a condition for the diagnosis.

But though the above may speak for an intended *yadi* in many of the examples given above, a postulated combination of *yadi* and *yasya* alone cannot serve as proof that *yasya* is used in the sense of *yadi kasyacid*, for in this latter case we have additional noems which do not as such arise out of the combination of *yadi* and *yasya* alone (on "noem" s. Karl Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda*, Heidelberg 1967, 37f.). Moreover, one might also adduce other verses found right in the vicinity of some of the verses given above in favour of the analysis as anacoluthic constructions. Such verses, which contain both a relative and a correlative pronoun, are e.g.:

vātavarconirodhaś ca kukṣau yasya bhṛśaṃ bhavet
tasyālasakam ācaṣṭe tṛṣṇodgārāvarodhakau (Ut 56.8)
(variant: *tṛṣṇodgārau tu yasya tu* for *tṛṣṇodgārāvarodhakau*),

yasyottamāṅgārdham atīva jantoḥ sambhedatodabhramaśūlajuṣṭam
pakṣād daśāhād athavāpy akasmāt tasyārdhabhedaṃ tritayād vyavasyet (Ut 25.15cd-16ab).

These are merely two examples, chosen at random, of similar constructions with a correlative and an optative. Examples in which we have an indicative are probably even more frequent.

This being so, one cannot simply discount the possibility that the constructions we have adduced above as examples of *yasya* standing for *yadi kasyacid* are merely constructions with a missing correlative. Even if the use of the optative in some of the examples should point to a *yadi* or the like being intended, one could still translate these constructions without postulating an indefinite use of *yasya*. This does not necessarily mean that we can in each case use 'if' to reproduce the intended nuance of *yadi* in translating, for that might lead to rather clumsy English; we can however use equivalent trans-

lations with 'should' or the like to reproduce the optative, as in the case of *Su*, Ut 25.6. Thus Ut 51.11 too might be alternatively translated as:

> 'Should a man, puffed up, with burning bladder, breathe [only] painfully, interruptedly, with all [his] energy (or: cut off from all breath), one should designate it (the respiratory malfunction) as *chinna-*.'

In any case, the *yasya* constructions given above can all be translated adequately by simply supplying a correlative, as we have already seen above in the case of *Su*, Ut 25.6 and 56.4 25.6 and *Ca*, Sū 18.9. Thus for instance *Ca*, Sū 5.53cd-54ab, given above, would be:

> 'One should declare the vapour [of him] [to be] unimbibed (i.e. "to be unimbibed by him", with the common instrumental genitive with the past participle), whose voice should not [happen to] be quite clear (*viśuddha-*), and the throat [filled] with phlegm, and the head verily numb (?; on the problematic term *stimita-* cf. e.g. Ḍalhaṇa's comments on *Su*, Sū 41.4.2 and Ut 39.33f.; 48 and Cakrapāṇidatta's comments on *Ca*, Ci 3.86).'

Taking *yasya* here to stand for *yadi kasyacid*, we would translate:

> 'If someone's voice should not be quite clear and the throat [filled] with phlegm, and the head verily numb (?) one should declare the vapour [to be] unimbibed.'

Similarly *Su*, Sū 46.503 would as an anacoluthic construction be:

> 'They pronounce this fourth *ajīrṇa-*, accompanied by nausea, [of him] whose desire for food does not arise even in the case of pureness of belching and [whose] heaviness of the heart[-region] [arises], [to be caused] by a rest of *rasa-*.'

An analysis of *yasya* as *yadi kasyacid* would give:

> 'If however someone's desire for food does not arise even in the case of pureness of belching and heaviness of the heart[-region] [arises], they pronounce this fourth *ajīrṇa-*, accompanied by nausea, [to be caused] by a rest of *rasa-*.'

In the same manner *Su*, Ni 11.29 could be translated by supplying a correlative as:

> 'One should declare that (i.e. the affliction) [of him] to be *galagaṇḍa-*, on whose neck an attached (*nibaddha-*) intumescence, be it (*vā yadi vā*) large or short, hangs like a testicle.'

With *yasya* in the sense of *yadi kasyacid* we obtain:

> 'If on someone's neck an attached intumescence, be it large or short, hangs like a testicle, one should declare that to be *galagaṇḍa-*.'

In the face of the fact that the correlative is often missing in verses found in medical texts, it makes sense to consider at least the possibility of our having anacoluthic constructions here. Of course in many cases taking *yasya* to stand for *yadi kasyacid* does admittedly give a smoother translation, as in the case of *Su*, Sū 30.3 above:

> 'If however a change of body, disposition/conduct [or/and] character/constitution of someone should take place, that is, in sum, a sign of impending misfortune (*scil.* death). [After having learnt this general definition,] learn [these signs] from me, however, in detail.'

The analysis as an anacoluthic construction makes for a rather clumsy translation:

> 'Of whose body, disposition/conduct [or/and] character/constitution a change should take place, that is, in sum, a sign of [his] impending misfortune. Learn from me, however, in detail.'

But this is only a difficulty pertaining to the translation, as the original Sanskrit construction would, if a *tasya* were added, in no way be peculiar. Translators' difficulties cannot however be the criteria by which to judge problems of this sort (cf. also p.6 above).

In this connection the explanation of *Su*, Ut 51.7 (*kiñcid ārabhamāṇasya yasya śvāsaḥ pravartate / niṣaṇṇasyaiti śāntiṃ ca sa kṣudra iti saṃjñitaḥ*) by the commentator Ḍalhaṇa is quite interesting. Ḍalhaṇa says:

> *yasya kiñcit karma ārabhamāṇasya puruṣasya yaḥ śvāsaḥ pravartate niṣaṇṇasya ca śāntim eti sa kṣudraḥ śvāsa iti saṃjñitaḥ.*

One can hardly translate this properly unless one either takes *yasya* to be used in an indefinite sense here, or else supplies a correlative such as *tasya*. If one does so, then the translation is in the first case:

> 'The respiratory malfunction (*śvāsa-*) which arises of some person beginning some work and, of [him] resting (i.e. when he rests), attains cessation, that is called "*kṣudra- śvāsa-*".'

In the second case it is:

> 'Which respiratory malfunction of which person beginning some work arises and, of [whom] resting, attains cessation, that is called [that person's] "*kṣudra-śvāsa-*" (i.e.: That respiratory malfunction is called "*kṣudra- śvāsa-*" of that person of whom it arises when beginning some work, and of whom it ceases when resting).'

If we follow this explanation of Ḍalhaṇa, then the translation of the verse becomes in the first case:

> 'The respiratory malfunction which arises of one beginning something and, of [him] resting (i.e. when he rests), attains cessation, that is called "*kṣudra-*".'

In the second case it is:

> 'Which respiratory malfunction of whom beginning something arises and, of [whom] resting, attains cessation, that is called [his] "*kṣudra-*" (i.e.: That respiratory malfunction is called "*kṣudra-*" of him of whom it arises when beginning something, and of whom it ceases when resting).'

It is obvious that Ḍalhaṇa was not quite at ease with the verse, for he has here inserted a relative *yaḥ* before *śvāsaḥ*. Though this does make for a smoother analysis (which the rather clumsy translations cannot show properly), it must be pointed out that *śvāsaḥ* and *kṣudraḥ* are not necessarily to be connected in the way Ḍalhaṇa presupposes. True, since here we have masculines in both the main and the relative clause (*kṣudra-* and *śvāsa-* respectively), one is tempted to connect them in this way, but the other examples adduced above show that the pronoun referring to the affliction named in the main clause is as a rule *not* connected in such a way with a noun or pronoun in the relative clause. Indeed, since Ḍalhaṇa's analysis does not allow us to take *yasya* in the sense of *yadi kasyacid* or the like (but only in the sense of *kasyacid*), we would not be able to apply his analysis to our other examples. According to these other examples, in which we would, if we do not prefer to analyse the passages as anacoluthic constructions, have to presuppose a meaning including the sense of *yadi*, Ut 51.7 would most likely be:

> 'If a respiratory malfunction arises of someone beginning (i.e. when someone begins) something and of [him] resting (i.e. when he rests) attains cessation, that is called "*kṣudra-*".'

The translation of a presumed anacoluthic construction would be:

'That (i.e. the affliction) [of him] is called "*kṣudra-*", the respiratory malfunction of whom [when] beginning something arises and of [whom] [when] resting attains cessation.'

Of course '*kṣudra-*' is a short form of '*kṣudra- śvāsa-*' (where *śvāsa-* stands for 'respiratory malfunction'), but that does not basically alter the arguments given above relating to Ḍalhaṇa's connecting *śvāsa-* and *kṣudra-*. It may also be pointed out that Ḍalhaṇa does not give us an analysis, on similar lines, of any of the other verses cited above; this does seem revealing.

One may now pertinently ask why Ḍalhaṇa did not analyse *yasya* as an equivalent of *yadi kasyacid*. Was such a usage (in contradistinction to that of *yasya* in the sense of *kasyacid*) in actual fact unknown to him, even though we today seem to take it for granted? On the other hand, his insertion of *yaḥ* might be taken to show that the construction of the verse was to him anacoluthic; but in this case too his analysis would not be in keeping with our analysis — if we should consider an anacoluthon — presupposing a missing correlative to the given relative pronoun (and not a missing relative pronoun linked with the given personal pronoun in the main clause).

Thus far we have considered analysing the constructions with *yasya* either as anacoluthic or with *yasya* in the sense of *yadi kasyacid*. Quite another explanation for the function of *yasya* is however suggested by a variant to Ni 16.28. This runs as follows:

dīryamāṇeṣv iva rujā yasya danteṣu jāyate
dālano nāma sa vyādhiḥ sadāgatinimittajaḥ.

The verse of which this is a variant runs:

dālyante bahudhā dantā yasmiṃs tīvraruganvitāḥ
dālanaḥ sa iti jñeyaḥ sadāgatinimittajaḥ

'That in (i.e. with relation to) which the teeth, connected with piercing pain, are (made to?) split manifoldly is to be known as *dālana-* (i.e. splitting), arisen due to the ever-moving one (i.e. wind).'

This makes one wonder whether *yasya* in the examples given above might not have been used in a sense akin to that of the locative *yasmin*. As an example, one might translate the variant of Ni 16.28 with *yasya* in this sense:

'That disease of (i.e. in relation to) which pain arises in the teeth, [which are] as if being split, is by name *dālana-*, arisen due to the ever-moving one.'

In this context Ni 14.14cd-15ab is very interesting, because in this passage we have both the genitive (*yasya*) and the locative (*yatra*) side by side:

śīryante yasya māṃsāni yatra sarvāś ca vedanāḥ
vidyāt taṃ māṃsapākaṃ tu sarvadoṣakṛtaṃ bhiṣak.

'The physician should however know that caused by all the *doṣa*s [together] [to be] *māṃsapāka-*, of which (i.e. with relation to which) the flesh withers, and in which all the [various types of] pains are present.'

Gayadāsa in his commentary actually expressly takes *yasya* to refer to the affliction *māṃsapāka-* (and *not* to the person afflicted): *duravacāritaśūkadūṣitadoṣakṛtasya māṃsapākasya śīryante māṃsāni galanti*. We also find *yasya* in the verses immediately preceding the above referring to the affliction and not to the one afflicted:

chidrair aṇumukhair vastu citaṃ yasya samantataḥ
vātaśoṇitajo vyādhir vijñeyaḥ śataponakaḥ (Ni 14.12)

(variants: *liṅgaṃ* for *vastu*; *yat tu citaṃ meḍhraṃ* for *vastu citaṃ yasya*),

kṛṣṇaiḥ sphoṭaiḥ saraktaiś ca piḍakābhiś ca pīḍitam

yasya vastu rujaś cogrā jñeyaḥ tac choṇitārbudam (Ni 14.13c-f)
(variant: *dūṣitam* for *pīḍitam*).
vastu- 'seat' (note also Ḍalhaṇa's explanations: *vastv adhiṣṭhānam ity arthaḥ* and *vastv adhiṣṭhānam*) must refer to the seat of the disorder, and as such *yasya* cannot but be connected with *śataponakaḥ* and *śoṇitārbudam* respectively.

Of course this by no means can conclusively prove that *yasya* actually is used in a sense approaching that of the locative *yasmin* (or *yatra*) here, for in 14.17 we find *māṃsāni śīryante yasya dehinaḥ* (see p.10 above), where we have a similar statement as in 14.14, but clearly referring to the person afflicted. Nevertheless, it does seem as if at least Gayadāsa analysed *yasya* in the manner proposed, which shows that, irrespective of what *Su* actually presupposes in this particular case, the possibility of such a construction is not to be dismissed out of hand. I may also draw attention to Ḍalhaṇa's explanation of *Su*, Ut 3.22 (*yasya dhautāni dhautāni sambadhyante punaḥ punaḥ / vartmāny aparipakvāni vidyād aklinnavartma tat*), in which he expressly takes *yasya* to refer to the affliction: *yasya rogasya sthānabhūtāni vartmāny asakṛt prakṣālitāni punaḥ sambaddhāni bhavanti ... tad aklinnavartma jānīyāt*. This means either: 'Of (i.e. probably: with relation to) which disease the eyelids, having come [back] to their [correct] position (*sthānabhūta-*), [when] washed become joined together again repeatedly, ... that one should know as *aklinnavartman-*,' or else: 'Being at the locus (*sthānabhūta-*) of which disease the eyelids [when] washed become joined together again repeatedly, ...' etc.

In this connection we may also note Ut 22.8cd-9ab, which has a construction with both *yasmin* and *yatra* paralleling the many constructions with *yasya*, already quoted above, in this chapter:

ghrāṇāśritaṃ pittam arūṃṣi kuryād yasmin vikāre balavāṃś ca pākaḥ
taṃ nāsikāpākam iti vyavasyed vikledakothāv api yatra dṛṣṭau.

The need to consider the possible locatival use of *yasya* becomes even more evident when one considers Ni 16.14ff. where we find *yasya* and *yasmin* used in proximity to each other:

śoṇitaṃ dantaveṣṭebhyo yasyākasmāt pravartate
durgandhīni sakṛṣṇāni prakledīni mṛdūni ca (14)
dantamāṃsāni śīryante pacanti ca parasparam
śītādo nāma sa vyādhiḥ kaphaśoṇitasambhavaḥ (15)
dantayos triṣu vā yasya śvayathuḥ sarujo mahān
dantapuppuṭako jñeyaḥ kapharaktanimittajaḥ (16)
sravanti pūyarudhiraṃ calā dantā bhavanti ca
dantaveṣṭaḥ sa vijñeyo duṣṭaśoṇitasambhavaḥ (17)
śvayathur dantamūleṣu rujāvān kapharaktajaḥ
lālāsrāvī sa vijñeyaḥ kaṇḍūmāñ chauṣiro gadaḥ (18)
dantāś calanti veṣṭebhyas tālu cāpy avadīryate
dantamāṃsāni pacyante mukhaṃ ca paripīḍyate (19)
yasmin sa sarvajo vyādhir mahāśauṣirasaṃjñakaḥ
dantamāṃsāni śīryante yasmin ṣṭhīvati cāpy asṛk (20)
pittāsṛkkaphajo vyādhir jñeyaḥ paridaro hi saḥ
veṣṭeṣu dāhaḥ pākaś ca tebhyo dantāś calanti ca (21)
āghaṭṭitāḥ prasravanti śoṇitaṃ mandavedanāḥ
ādhmāyante srute rakte mukhaṃ pūti ca jāyate (22)
yasminn upakuśaḥ sa syāt pittaraktakṛto gadaḥ (23ab)

.....

dālyante bahudhā dantā yasmiṃs tīvraruganvitāḥ
dālanaḥ sa iti jñeyaḥ sadāgatinimittajaḥ (28)
kṛṣṇaś chidrī calaḥ srāvī sasaṃrambho mahārujaḥ
animittarujo vātād vijñeyaḥ kṛmidantakaḥ (29)
śītam uṣṇaṃ ca daśanāḥ sahante sparśanaṃ na ca
yasya taṃ dantaharṣaṃ tu vyādhiṃ vidyāt samīraṇāt (30)
vaktraṃ vakraṃ bhaved yasmin dantabhaṅgaś ca tīvraruk
kaphavātakṛto vyādhiḥ sa bhañjanakasaṃjñitaḥ (31)
śarkareva sthirībhūto malo danteṣu yasya vai
sā dantānāṃ guṇaharī vijñeyā dantaśarkarā (32)

(variants: *sparśanāsahaḥ* for *sarujo mahān* in 16, *kaphasambhavaḥ* for *kapharaktajaḥ* in 18, *śauṣiro nāma nāmataḥ* for *kaṇḍūmāñ chauṣiro gadaḥ* in 18, *cāsakṛt* for *cāpy asṛk* in 20, *dāhena veṣṭās taptāś ca śuṣyante cāgninā yathā* inserted between 21cd and 22ab, *yasmin sopakuśo nāma* for *yasminn upakuśaḥ sa syāt* in 23, *yasya* for *yasmin* in 31, *jāyate* for *tīvraruk* in 31; on 28 see p.15 above).

Note the variant *yasya* for *yasmin* in verse 31.

I may here point out that in verse 17 we do not have any relative pronoun, even though some sort of relatival relationship is obviously implied. it may also not be out of place here to draw attention to verse 33, where we have *yadā* 'when(ever)':

dalanti dantavalkāni yadā śarkarayā saha
jñeyā kapālikā saiva daśanānāṃ vināśinī

(a variant of this verse runs: *kapāleṣv iva dīryatsu dantānāṃ saiva śarkarā / kapāliketi vijñeyā sadā dantavināśinī*).

These examples should caution us against any generalisation, as they show that we must reckon with coming across quite different concurrent constructions in close proximity, constructions which need not necessarily be related (cf. also especially *Ca*, Sū 18.34-36 discussed above on p.7).

But even then the verses with the genitive and the locative seemingly juxtaposed remain very intriguing. What is more, others too seem to have had the feeling that the genitive in the *yasya* construction might have been used in a manner approximating that of the locative. In his Hindi translation of *Su*, Sū 46.503 (*udgāraśuddhāv api bhaktakāṅkṣā na jāyate hṛdgurutā ca yasya / rasāvaśeṣeṇa tu saprasekaṃ caturtham etat pravadanty ajīrṇam*) Ghāṇekar (p.308a) too takes *yasya* to have a locatival function, relating it to the disorder *ajīrṇa-*: *śuddh ḍakār āne par bhī jis'meṃ bhojan kī icchā nahīṃ hotī, hṛday (pradeś) meṃ bhārīpan rah'tā hai aur mūh meṃ pānī sā bhar'tā hai us'ko ras'śeṣ'janya cauthā ajīrṇ kah'te hai.* Even more important is however a translation of a similar construction from the ninth century, namely the Tibetan translation of a verse from the *Siddhasāra*. The Sanskrit text of 1.43 (*pānāhārādayo yasya viruddhāḥ prakṛter api / sukhatvāyopakalpante tat sātmyam iti gadyate)*, already mentioned above, would give, if *yasya* be translated as a locative:

'That is called "*sātmya-*", in the case of which beverages, food etc. lead to well-being even though incompatible by nature.'

The Tibetan translation runs as follows:

goms-pa ni gaṅ-la zas daṅ / skom-la sogs-pa raṅ-bźin-gyis mi-mthun-pa yin yaṅ / bde-ba-ñid-du hgyur-ba de ni goms-pa źes bya-bar śes-so.

This is rendered into English by Emmerick (*The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 2: The Tibetan Version with Facing English Translation*, ed. and trans. by R.E. Emmerick, Wiesbaden 1982) as:

'As for habit (*sātmyam*), that (*tat*) is known (*gadyate*) to be called (*iti*) habit (*sātmyam*) in the case of which (*yasya*), although (*api*) food (*āhāra-*) and drinks (*pāna-*) etc. (*-ādayo*) may by their nature (*prakṛter*) be not compatible (*viruddhāḥ*), yet they tend to contentment (*sukhatvāyopakalpante*).'

It is to be especially noted that the Tibetan translation actually uses the locative *gaṅ la* for *yasya*.

All this does seem to lead to the conclusion that there are indeed cases in which we will have to consider carefully whether *yasya* might not be used in a sense approaching that of the locative. But that is not all. When we look at the last verse (*Siddhasāra* 1.43) again, we do feel tempted to translate it as:

'That is called "*sātmya-*", due to which beverages, food etc. lead to well-being even though incompatible by nature.'

In other words, one is tempted to ascribe to *yasya* a function approaching that of an instrumental. In this connection it is highly intriguing that we have in *Su* an example of *yasya* interchanging with *yena* in variants of the same verse. I am referring to Ni 5.10, which runs:

kṛṣṇāruṇaṃ yena bhavec charīraṃ tad ekakuṣṭhaṃ pravadanti kuṣṭham
syur yena kaṇḍūvyathanauṣacoṣās taleṣu tac carmadalaṃ vadanti.

This has a variant which states:

kṛṣṇo deho yasya kṛṣṇāruṇo vā tac caikākhyaṃ kuṣṭham āhuḥ sukaṣṭam
kaṇḍūcoṣau todadāhau tu yasya taleṣu tac carmadalaṃ vadanti.

However, I do not have any material on such a possible interchange between genitive and instrumental, and must therefore shelve this problem for the present. Reverting to the possible interchange between genitive and locative, I must draw attention to a problem which this poses. This is the fact that in some of the examples for the *yasya* construction given above the correlative in the main clause is not masculine or neuter, but feminine. If we now should construe *yasya* in the relative clause with such a feminine in the main clause, we would obviously be faced with a problem (*yasmin* and *yatra* above are, by contrast, not construed with any feminine). Against this one could maybe hold the use of *yad* in nominal relative clauses irrespective of the actual gender (see e.g. Wackernagel-Debrunner III, § 257gγff., Delbrück, p.567), but the cases are not the same. Moreover, I do not know of any other cases of a similar development in Old Indo-Aryan. As such, we are, in spite of the highly interesting evidence, still rather in the dark as to the exact meaning of the *yasya* construction in general.

Matters are not made easier by the fact that in one chapter (Śā 4) of *As* we find three *prose* passages in which a relative pronoun in the genitive is used in a manner similar to that discussed so far; this pronoun is however not *yasya*, but the feminine *yasyāḥ* (these are, apart from the verse discussed further below, the *only* passages of this sort with *yasyāḥ* I found in the "classical" texts), and there is no possibility of relating this pronoun, here obviously referring to a pregnant woman, to the personal pronouns *tam* or *saḥ* which follow:

tatra yasyāḥ kādācitkārtavaparisrāvāv alpau ca dṛśyete satataṃ ca garbhaḥ prāptāt parimāṇād aparihīyamāna eva sphurati na ca kukṣir vivardhate tam upaviṣṭakam ity ācakṣate (p.308a),

yasyāḥ punar vātopasṛṣṭasrotasi līno garbhaḥ prasupto na spandate taṃ līnam ity āhuḥ (p.309b),

yasyāḥ punar atimātradoṣopacayād yathoktair vā vyavāyādibhir anyair vā vyādibhiḥ pūrvopacitena vā jananyapatyayoḥ karmaṇā bandhanān mucyate garbhaḥ phalam iva vṛntāt sa muktabandhano garbhaśayyām atikramya yakṛtplīhāntravivarair avasraṃsamānaḥ koṣṭhasaṅkṣobham āpādayati (p.310b).

Interesting too is the fact that the first of these three passages (p.308a) is followed directly by a passage beginning with *yadā tu* 'if however', which one could take as showing that the preceding passage too is to be analysed in a manner similar to this passage, i.e. with 'if' or the like:

yadā tu pratimāsam ārtavaṃ pratyahaṃ vā parisravaṇaṃ nātyalpaṃ ca tathā parihīyamāṇo garbhaś cirāt kiñcit spandate kukṣiś ca vṛddho 'pi parihīyate tad upaśuṣkakaṃ nāgodaraṃ ca.

Such problems can nevertheless not do away with the need to investigate the possibility of locatival usage of the genitive of the relative pronoun, since the evidence which seems to speak for such a usage is too extensive to simply ignore. In this context I may draw attention to two verses which occur in both *As* and *Ah*. The first, *As*, Ut 38 (p.291b), says:

ṣaḍahāt saptarātrād vā śuklaṃ (= śukraṃ) garbhāśayān marut
vamet saruṅ nīrujo vā yasyāṃ sā vāminī matā
'In the case of which the wind, together with pain or without pain, should vomit [out] semen [from the male] from the uterus after six days or seven nights, that is considered as *vāminī-*.'

The parallel *Ah*, Ut 33.38cd-39ab however has *yasyāḥ* in the place of *yasyāṃ*. But this reading is by no means above suspicion, for the Kairalī commentary (ed. Śaṅkaraśarman and Ceppāṭ Ke. Acyutavārya, Kottayam 1942) quite clearly reads *yasyāṃ*, even though the printed text of the verse commented upon has *yasyāḥ* (this latter is also the reading in the text commented upon by Śivadāsasena; on this edition see 33). And a variant even has *hy asyāṃ*, i.e. another locative. Nevertheless, the fact that a reading with the genitive exists could show that the locative and the genitive were here considered to be interchangeable.

The matter is however more complicated than this. According to the commentators, the feminine of the pronoun is due to the feminine *vyāpad-* 'disorder, disease' having to be supplied. This tallies with the fact that disorders or diseases of the female genital tract are often described by feminines, in some cases *vyāpad-* actually being present in the description. There are however many cases where it looks rather as if the feminine nomenclature actually gives us not the name of the disease or disorder, but of the *yoni-* in the diseased state, i.e. *vāminī* might not stand for *vāminī vyāpat*, but for *vāminī yoniḥ*; at times one may also consider the woman herself as being meant. The problem of the nomenclature of female genital diseases has to my knowledge not yet been examined in detail in this respect, so that it is not possible to say more on this subject here, but it is obvious that if *vāminī* were indeed to refer to the *yoni-*, then *yasyāḥ* would refer to this too and give us an unproblematic and regular relative construction: 'Of which [*yoni-*] the wind, together ...'.

Similar are the problems relating to the second verse, which in the version of *As*, Ut 38 (p.293a) reads:

sā vyāpac chlaiṣmikī vātapittābhyāṃ kṣīyate rajaḥ
sadāhakārśyavaivarṇyaṃ yasyāṃ sā lohitakṣayā

(the relevant portion begins with *vātapittābhyāṃ*, as *sā vyāpac chlaiṣmikī* relates to a disease discussed in the previous verse). The parallel *Ah*,Ut 33.45 has *yasyāḥ* in the place of *yasyāṃ*. This reading is however, like the reading of the other verse just discussed, not above suspicion either; not only does the edition of *Ah* mention the variant *yasyāṃ*, but this is also the reading presupposed by Śivadāsasena and the Kairalī commentary. Apart from this, we also have the problem of what the relative pronoun refers to; Indu (in his commentary on the *As* passage) and the Kairalī commentary take it to refer to the disorder (*yasyāṃ vyāpadi* and *yasyāṃ yonivyāpadi* respectively), whereas according to Candranandana (from whose commentary on *Ah*, the relevant portion of which has not yet been published, the editor of *Ah* quotes) it refers to the woman (*yasyāṃ nāryām*).

But be that as it may, the constructions with *yasyāḥ* merely supplement what we have seen with regard to *yasya*. We are thus still left with three possible explanations for the *yasya* (and *yasyāḥ*) construction, namely (a) that *yasya* is used in the sense of *yadi kasyacid*, (b) that the construction is anacoluthic, requiring a correlative to be supplied, and (c) that *yasya* is used in a sense approaching that of the corresponding locative. The material sifted does not seem to allow us to come to any definite conclusion, nor can we be sure that all similar-looking constructions with *yasya* are actually founded on the same principle (this refers not only to the possibility discussed on p.18 of the genitive standing for an instrumental, but to possible other means of analysing confined to individual constructions).

In any case, the fact that the construction with *yasya* is not rare in *Su* might be of help in determining the correct reading of Ut 22.13cd-14ab. In the edition used this is given as:

prabhraśyate nāsikayaiva yaś ca sāndro vidagdho lavaṇaḥ kaphas tu
prāk sañcito mūrdhani pittataptas taṃ bhraṃśathuṃ vyādhim udāharanti.

This is peculiar because the relative pronoun *yaḥ* must be construed with *kapha-* 'phlegm', from which it then follows that this must be related to the correlative of the main clause, which is however the disease. Now there is a variant to this verse with *yasya* in the place of *yaś ca*. Whichever way we analyse *yasya*, it in any case fits better into the verse, in which *kapha-* is then no more to be construed with *yasya* and hence the disease. Considering the fact that the verse with *yasya* would fall into the same pattern as the other examples we have so far been considering, it does seem as if *yasya*, and not *yaś ca*, is the original reading in *Su*, Ut 22.13cd-14ab.

That the problem of the analysis of relative constructions of the sort discussed so far is not confined to the use of the genitive is shown by Ut 51.12, in which we find a similar construction, but with the nominative *yaḥ* instead of the genitive *yasya*:

niḥsaṃjñaḥ pārśvaśūlārtaḥ śuṣkakaṇṭho 'tighoṣavān
saṃrabdhanetras tv āyamya yaḥ śvasyāt sa mahān smṛtaḥ

The verse describes the variant of *śvāsa-* called *mahat-* (here in the nominative: *mahān*); as such, *saḥ* can not be the true correlative of *yaḥ*. If we analyse the construction as anacoluthic, the translation is:

> 'But [the respiratory malfunction (*śvāsa-*)] [of him] who, senseless, afflicted with pain in the sides [and] dry-throated, should breathe, characterised by great sound [and] with swollen/bulging eyes, intermittently/in lengthy gasps (*āyamya*), is known as *mahat-*',

If we however take *yaḥ* to be used in the sense of *yadi kaścid*, we get:

'But if someone, senseless, afflicted with pain in the sides [and] dry-throated, should breathe, characterised by great sound [and] with swollen/bulging eyes, intermittently/in lengthy gasps, that is known as *mahat-*.'

As *kṣudra-* in Ut 51.7 above (a construction with *yasya*; see p.14), so *mahat-* too stands for *mahat- śvāsa-*. Indeed, Ḍalhaṇa expressly remarks on this: *sa mahān mahāśvāsaḥ. atrāśrayāśrayiṇor abhedāt mahāśvāsa eva mahānśabdenocyate. evaṃ sarvatra*, i.e. the masculine form of *mahat-* (the *āśrayin-*) is due to that of *śvāsa-* (the *āśraya-*), *mahān* seemingly standing for *mahāśvāsaḥ* (a Karmadhāraya and not a Bahuvrīhi parallel to *yaḥ*, as one might perhaps be tempted to assume at first glance). Note that here the relative clause does not contain *śvāsa-*, and that Ḍalhaṇa in this case too does not offer us any explanation on the construction, contrary to his commentary on 51.7 (see above).

The same construction could be present in Ut 51.13:

marmasv āyamyamāneṣu śvasan mūḍho muhuś ca yaḥ
ūrdhvaprekṣī hataravas tam ūrdhvaśvāsam ādiśet.

But is *ūrdhvaśvāsa-* a Karmadhāraya here ('*ūrdhva- śvāsa-*'), or is it a Bahuvrīhi ('one whose *śvāsa-* is *ūrdhva-*')? In the latter case we would have a perfectly regular relatival construction, with correlative and relative in agreement with each other.

In Ut 51.8, on the other hand, there is no relative pronoun at all:

tṛṭsvedavamathuprāyaḥ kaṇṭhaghurghurikānvitaḥ
viśeṣād durdine tāmyec chvāsaḥ sa tamako mataḥ.

The trouble here is that √*tam* may mean 'choke, gasp for breath; feel faint' and as such refer here to the afflicted person, but it may also mean 'stop' and as such refer to the breath itself. In the former case we would, if we consider our two alternatives discussed so far, translate either with:

'The *śvāsa-* [of him who], replete with thirst, sweat and nausea, connected with gurgling in the throat, should choke/feel faint especially/exceedingly on a rainy/cloudy day (*durdine*), is understood as *tamaka-*',

or with:

'If one replete with thirst, sweat and nausea, connected with gurgling in the throat, should choke/feel faint especially/exceedingly on a rainy/cloudy day, [then] the *śvāsa-* is understood as *tamaka-*.'

In the latter case we would translate:

'The *śvāsa-* [which], replete with thirst, sweat and nausea, connected with gurgling in the throat, should stop especially/exceedingly on a rainy/cloudy day, that is understood as *tamaka-*.'

Ḍalhaṇa in his commentary on this verse says that the afflictions in 8ab describe the disease (*sa tamakaḥ śvāso mataḥ. kiṃviśiṣṭaḥ. tṛṭsvedavamathuprāyaḥ*). This looks as if he analyses the verse in accordance with the last translation, though whether he is right in his analysis is something I cannot decide upon. In any case, even if Ut 51.8 should not fall into the same category as the other examples adduced, we still have enough evidence for an interesting mode of expression, the exact analysis of which however remains unclear.

A similar group of verses is found in Ut 49; of three adjacent verses (9-11) two have *yaḥ*, one no relative pronoun at all:

pracchardayet phenilam alpam alpaṃ śūlārdito 'bhyarditapārśvapṛṣṭhaḥ
śrāntaḥ saghoṣaṃ bahuśaḥ kaṣāyaṃ jīrṇe 'dhikaṃ sānilajā vamis tu (9)
yo 'mlaṃ bhṛśaṃ vā kaṭutiktavaktraḥ pītaṃ saraktaṃ haritaṃ vamed vā

sadāhacoṣajvaravaktraśoṣo murchānvitaḥ pittanimittajā sā (10)
yo hṛṣṭaromā madhuraṃ prabhūtaṃ śuklaṃ himaṃ sāndrakaphānuviddham
abhaktaruggauravasādayukto vamed vamī sā kaphakopajā syāt (11)

(variants: *yaś chardayet* for *pracchardayet* in 9, *mūrchānvitā* for *mūrchānvitaḥ* in 10, *°gauravasādayuktaṃ* for *°gauravasādayukto* in 11).

As regards verse 9, this can clearly not be (alternatively) analysed as actually having the disease as the subject of the subordiante clause (as considered as an alternative in the case of Ut 51.8). The variant of 9 mentioned actually turns this verse into one with the same construction as the two following verses by adding a *yaḥ*; in view of the fact that this not only makes all three similar, but also lets them begin with the very same word, one should consider seeing the correct reading in *yaś chardayet*, even though the commentator Ḍalhaṇa reads *pracchardayet*, though he does say that others adhere to a different reading, which he himself however does not know. Nevertheless, he explains the verse by means of a relatival locative: *evambhūtaḥ puruṣo yatra roge evaṃvidhaṃ chardayet jīrṇe cādhikaṃ chardayet sā vamir anilajā jñeyeti sambandhaḥ*. This we may translate as: 'The [syntactic] connection is: "in the case of/in which disease (or: in which case/where, in a disease) a man being thus vomits [something] of this nature/vomits in this manner and vomits more when [his meal is] digested, that vomit is to be known as arising from wind".'

In other words, we would, following Ḍalhaṇa, have to supply a relative pronoun and analyse Ut 49.9 as: 'In (the case of) which one vomits ..., that is called ...'. This is exactly the analysis that we have considered in the case of the *yasya* construction above, *yasya* being analysed as standing for a locative, though of course this analysis was only meant to show a possible way of interpretation. Though 9 in the reading of Ḍalhaṇa does not actually have a relative pronoun, the following verses and the variant do have *yaḥ*. Unfortunately Ḍalhaṇa does not tell us how he analyses the other verses, but the question whether he analysed them in the same manner raises itself automatically, i.e. whether he took *yaḥ* to stand in the sense of *yasmin*. If he did, then we would have the most interesting case of the nominative relative pronoun, even though formally the subject of the relative clause, functioning as the locative of the relative pronoun correlating with the personal pronoun of the main clause, the subject of the relative clause then being not specially mentioned, but only contained in the verbal form (i.e. 'one').

One could of course also consider analysing such constructions by taking *yaḥ* to be the equivalent of *yadi kaścid*, parallel to *yasya* as the equivalent of *yadi kasyacid*. Then *yaḥ* in the verses *Su*, Ut 49.10-11 (and the variant of 9) would refer to the man: 'If someone ..., then that is ...'. Applying this consideration to *Ca*, Sū 18.12 which we have discussed on p.9 above, we would obtain:

> 'If someone, whose eyes, face and skin are yellow, first swells from the middle, is one whose skin is thin and is characterised by diarrhoea, that is called intumescence due to bile (*pittaśotha-*).'

But in that case one must of course also consider an anacoluthic construction, as already done above for this verse, and this then holds true also in the case of *Su*, Ut 49.10-11 (and the variant of 9), as well as in other similar cases.

In *Su*, Ut 3.17 too we have a construction with the nominative *yaḥ* referring to the patient, in which the correlative seems to refer to the affliction:

kaṇḍūmatālpatodena vartmaśophena yo naraḥ
na samaṃ chādayed akṣi bhaved bandhaḥ sa vartmanaḥ.

What makes this verse most interesting is that it follows directly upon a verse (3.16, quoted above) in which we have a similar construction, but with *yasya*.

Similar is probably the case as regards *Ca*, Ci 26.110, which too is close to a similar construction with *yasya*, namely Ci 26.117 (quoted above):

rodhābhighātasravaśoṣapākair ghrāṇaṃ yutaṃ yaś ca na vetti gandham
durgandhi cāsyaṃ bahuśaḥ prakopi duṣṭapratiśyāyam udāharet tam.

One could of course hold that *duṣṭapratiśyāya-* here actually refers to the patient, as 'one whose *pratiśyāya-* is *duṣṭa-*', but as *duṣṭapratiśyāya-* as the name of a disorder is quite common and indeed occurs as such in Ci 26.107, i.e. in the vicinity of 26.110, this does not seem very likely.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to a construction in which we not only have *yasya* in a relative clause, but seem also to have to supply *yaḥ* or *yadi* in parallel clauses, all of which do not grammatically correlate properly with the main clause:

nirāhārasya yasyaiva tīvraṃ śūlam udīryate
prastabdhagātro bhavati kṛcchreṇocchvasitīva ca
vātamūtrapurīṣāṇi kṛcchreṇa kurute naraḥ
etair liṅgair vijānīyāc chūlaṃ vātasamudbhavam (*Su*, Ut 42.82f.).

Further investigation may turn up more examples of constructions similar to those discussed here from the "classical" texts, and should in any case turn up examples from other medical texts too.

27. *nirbhatsayanti* or *nirbhartsayanti*? (continued)

As an addendum to Das, pp.64-66, I may point out that in *As*, Ut 7 (p.64b) we find *nirbhatsana-* (... *abhighnantaṃ nirbhatsanād dīnaśaṅkitavadanaṃ* ...); *nirbhatsana-* is also what Indu's commentary has (*nirbhatsanaṃ santarjanam*). The edition of Gaṇeśa Tarṭe (Muṃbāpura Śaka 1810) however has *nirbhartsanād* on p.207. Similarly, *As*, Sū 12 (p.103a) has *bhatsana-* (...°*trāsasaṅkṣobhaṇaharṣaṇabhatsanahasanasvapnajāgaraṇasaṃvāhanādīni*), the edition of Tarṭe however reading °*bhartsana*° on p.74. And in *As*, Ut 7 (p.62a) we find *bhatsana-* too (... *svapne devādibhir bhatsanaṃ* ...), whereas Indu (in the same edition) comments on *bhartsana-* (*bhartsanaṃ santarjanam*), and the edition of Tarṭe (p.205) reads *devādibhir abhibhartsanaṃ*. As it is, I have not found a single *bharts*°-form in the *mūla* text of *As*, i.e. the edition of Rudrapāraśava, which does create the impression that this edition consistently misrepresents *bharts*° through *bhats*°. In most cases this indeed seems a justified conclusion, but, as Das, l.c. pointed out, we also have at least one case of a similar reading in the edition of Anaṃt Dāmodar Āṭhavale (Puṇeṃ 1980) with regard to the cases considered l.c., which does rather complicate matters, and what makes the whole even more confusing is that in this edition of Āṭhavale there are also similar cases as regards the new *As* passages quoted above; thus we find, in Ut 7.26, which corresponds to *As*, Ut 7 (p.64b), *nirbhatsanād* — Indu's commentary too has *nirbhatsana-* — , whereas Sū 12.3, which corresponds to *As*, Sū 12 (p.103a), has °*bhartsana*°, Ut 7.16, corresponding to *As*, Ut 7 (p.62a), however reading exactly the same as the edition of Rudrapāraśava, namely *bhatsana-* in the *mūla* text, but *bhartsana-* in the commentary of Indu! Moreover, we must also not overlook the fact that Indu's commentary in the editon of Rudrapāraśava once has *bharts*° and not *bhats*°, even though the latter is found in the passage commented upon; if *bhats*° is thus indeed a misrepresentation of

bharts° in this edition, it is in this case at least not consistent, which does make one ask for the rationale behind its being used.

Do we thus have true misrepresentations (i.e. not just editorial errors due to carelessness or printing mistakes) of *bharts*° through *bhats*°? If so, what could have caused them? Gotō, p.228, notes 490 and 491, draws attention to Vedic verbal forms in which we have a confusion between *bhats*° and *bharts*° (the former from √*bhas* 'chew'?), but could this really explain the cases we are here considering? What I rather suspect is that, if the misrepresentations are really genuine, i.e. based on the textual material available to the editors (which is impossible to decide upon, since the extant editions lack any critical apparatus), then we have in *bhats*° the influence of or an incorrect back-formation from *bhacch*°, the Middle and New Indo-Aryan (*tadbhava*) representation of *bharts*° (consider e.g. the case of Bengali, in which *tatsama* words are, regardless of how they are written, pronounced as *tadbhava*s, which influences Sanskrit as spoken in Bengal too, sometimes even leading to hypersanskritisms). But whether we would in this case have recitatorial or scribal errors, or even editorial errors (then not due to simple carelessness), I do not know.

28. Shortening of names

In *Su*, Ci 16.43 we find the otherwise unattested plant name *tini-* (*priyaṅgudhātakīrodhrakaṭphalaṃ tinisaindhavam*). Ḍalhaṇa says on this: *tinis tinisaḥ. ekadeśenāpi samudāyo budhyate. yathā satyā satyabhāmā bhīmo bhīmasena iti 'tini-* is [the plant] *tinisa-*. Through only a part the whole is understood. Like: "*satyā* [for] *satyabhāmā*, *bhīmaḥ* [for] *bhīmasenaḥ*".' On such shortening of names in South Asian onomastics cf. e.g. M.B. Emeneau, *Journal of the American Oriental Society 98.1978*, p.118 (= *Sanskrit Studies of M.B. Emeneau. Selected Papers*, ed. B.A. van Nooten, Berkeley 1988, pp.159f.). Another to my knowledge otherwise unattested case seems to be contained in *Su*, Ut 21.48: *priyaṅgumadhukāmbaṣṭhādhātakāśilaparṇibhiḥ* (the parallel *Ah*, Ut 18.20 has °*dhātakyutpalaparṇibhiḥ*); according to Ḍalhaṇa *śilā-* (sic; does *śila-* stand here *metri causa* according to him?) is a shortened form of *manaḥśilā-*.

29. *asthabhiḥ*

As, Ci 11 (p.195b) has the line *bilvakapitthajambvāmrāsthabhir vā. asthabhiḥ* does look like an archaic form or an archaism, but it is difficult to say with surety that it is indeed one and not simply an editorial or a scribal mistake, since in other editions (e.g. that of Tarṭe — see 27 -, p.69) we have °*āsthibhir vā*. We thus find here another problem waiting for resolution through a critical edition.

30. *vājīkaraṇa-*

As an addendum to Das, pp.53f. I may here draw attention to Ḍalhaṇa's comments on *vājīkaraṇa-* in *Su*, Sū 40.5: *vājīkaraṇaṃ vājivad yenāpratihataḥ striyaṃ yāti. anye tu vājiśabdena śukram ucyate. tato 'vājino vājinaḥ kriyante yeneti vājīkaraṇaṃ śūkrotpādakam ity āhuḥ 'vājīkaraṇa-*: through which one goes unimpeded to the woman like a stallion. Others however [say that] with the word *vāji-* semen is meant. By this they say: "*vājīkaraṇa-*, through which those without *vāji-* are made to those with *vāji-*, is (i.e. means)

semen-producing".' Note that here *avājin-* and *vājin-* are plural, and as such can hardly refer to semen itself; thus the words most probably refer to the persons with(out) this semen. The form *vājin-* then however is most probably a derived form on *-in*, which makes it probable too that the word for 'semen' is *vāji-* (as in the translation above) and not *vājin-*, as it would be extremely difficult to explain simply *vājin-* as the opposite of *avājin-* otherwise; were the word for 'semen' *vājin-* then we would have expected *savājin-* or the like. But of course we cannot categorically exclude the possiblity that we have an unusual form on *-in* here, i.e. that *vājin-* is actually 'with *vāji-*' (which latter *vājin-* we then would have to postulate as being meant in *vājiśabdena* and *avājinaḥ* too).

In any case, it is quite clear that to Ḍalhaṇa as well as, so it seems, scholars in his days in general *vājīkaraṇa-* was not a *cvi*-formation from *vāja-* 'vigour', the tendency to derive it from *vājin-* probably being furthered by the not infrequent comparison in the 'classical' texts of the man who has taken aphrodisiacs with a stallion, for instance *Su*, Ci 26.6, *Siddhasāra* 28.19f., *Ah*, Ut 40.2f., *As*, Ut 50 (p.450b).

31. Masculine *aṅguli-*?

As, Ut 32 (p.240b) has the line: *bhagnān sandhivimuktāṃś ca kṛtvā pūrvavad aṅgulīn ...*; the otherwise feminine *aṅguli-* is obviously masculine here. As other editions of the text too have this reading, we cannot talk of a printing mistake here, but it is well worth examining whether *aṅgulīn* is not simply a (scribal? editorial?) mistake for an original *aṅgulān*, which would be unproblematic.

32. *miśraṇā-*

Ah, Ni 16.54cd-55ab = *As*, Ni 16 (p.83a) runs:
miśraiḥ pittādibhis tadvan miśraṇābhir anekadhā
tāratamyavikalpāc ca yāty āvṛtir asaṅkhyatām
The verse refers to the 'coverings' (*āvṛti-*) of wind due to various substances in the body. Hilgenberg-Kirfel translate *miśraṇābhiḥ* as 'durch ... Mischungen' (p.285) ('Ebenso wird durch die vielfachen Mischungen [d.h. Mischungsmöglichkeiten] mit den gemischten [Arten] Galle usw. und durch die Unterscheidung der Graduation die Umhüllung [d.h. werden die Möglichkeiten der Umhüllung] unzählbar'), in which they obviously follow Aruṇadatta, who glosses *miśraṇābhiḥ* with *saṃyojanaiḥ* (variant: *saṃyojanābhiḥ*) 'through joinings/unitings'. And it is indeed impossible to see in *miśraṇābhiḥ* a feminine adjective, as there is no noun which it might qualify either in the verse or in adjoining verses. We thus have here a to my knowledge otherwise unattested feminine *miśraṇā-* 'the mixing; mixture' corresponding to the neuter *miśraṇa-*; this form is in keeping with Wackernagel-Debrunner II,2, §85a.

33. *uttaravāruṇī-* and variants

Ah, Ut 37.79ab runs: *mūlam uttaravāruṇyā vaṃśanirlekhasaṃyutam*. The plant name *uttaravāruṇī-* is to my knowledge unattested elsewhere. The commentator Aruṇadatta writes: *uttamāraṇīmūlaṃ vaṃśanirlekhanayuktaṃ vā*; here *uttaravāruṇī-* (or whatever it is Aruṇadatta reads) seems only to be explained as *uttamāraṇī-*, since the latter cannot metrically be a part of the verse. Śivadāsasena in his commentary on this verse (37.80 in

the edition of Jyotiṣacandra Sarasvatī, Kalikātā 1942, which contains only *Ah*, Ut with this commentary) however says *uttamakāriṇī dugdhikā*; obviously, he reads *mūlam uttamakāriṇyā* here. The verse is however printed as *mūlam uttarakāriṇyā* etc, i.e. has *uttarakāriṇī-* and not *uttamakāriṇī-*. Hilgenberg-Kirfel, p.706 speak of 'Wurzel von Asparagus racemosus', but do not mention the word they are translating. In their list of the plant names found in *Ah* we however find, on p.739, *uttamakāruṇī-*, *uttamāraṇī-* and *uttamavāruṇī-*, all three explained as synonyms of *śatāvarī-*. Since no similar words are given, either the first or the last of these names (the second is metrically impossible) seems to have been what Hilgenberg-Kirfel read in 37.79. Now they have used the edition of A.M. Kunte, Bombay ^{2}1891 (see their "Vorwort"); the reading of 37.79 in this edition of *Ah* is however *uttaravāruṇī-* too, so that it is puzzling why this is not mentioned. In any case, we see that there is quite some confusion as regards the reading of this line.

This confusion is heightened by *Ah*, Ut 30.27ab, which runs: *mūlair uttamakāraṇyāḥ pīluparṇyāḥ sahācarāt. uttamakāraṇī-* is also what Aruṇadatta comments upon, explaining it as *karambha-* (variant: *karambhā-*). According to the editor's footnote l.c. however, Candranandana comments upon *uttamavāruṇī-* (*mūlair uttamavāruṇyāḥ*). Two other variants are also mentioned, namely *uttaravāruṇī-* and *uttaravāriṇī-*. Śivadāsasena however (as well as the verse, 30.28, as given in the edition used) reads *mūlair uttamakāraṇyāḥ*, i.e. the same as Aruṇadatta, whose explanation Śivadāsa cites, adding however: *anye tv uttamakāraṇī latā deśāntaraprasiddhety āhuḥ*. It should also be noted that some manuscripts of Aruṇadatta's commentary have *uttamāraṇī-* in the place of *uttamakāraṇī-*, which of course raises the question of whether *uttamāraṇī-* in the commentary on Ut 37.79 too may not actually be a mistake for *uttamakāraṇī-*, which would then be what Aruṇadatta read here. Finally, it may be recalled that Hilgenberg-Kirfel, who on p.663 translate whatever they read in 30.27 too as 'Wurzel von Asparagus racemosus', have *uttamakāruṇī-* and *uttamavāruṇī-* in their list on p.739, but not *uttamakāraṇī-*, only *uttamāraṇī-*.

I have only found one similar case of confusion in another of the 'classical' texts, namely in *As*, Ci 21 (p.267a), where we have *khadiraśiṃśapāsāram uttamakāraṇīṃ brāhmīṃ ...*, *uttamakāraṇī-* being glossed by Indu as *karambha-*. The edition of Tarṭe — see 27 - has *uttamavāraṇīṃ* on p.113. Now such variants may be explained as due to scribal error, since *k* and *v* are similar in several Indian scripts, though this does not of course tell us which of the two readings then could be regarded as original (since both editions of *As* used are not critical, we also have no means of knowing whether Indu's commentary actually does read as printed or whether the editor has changed it to conform to the text of *As* given). A similar explanation could account for some of the variants of *Ah*, but it cannot account for all, and neither does it settle the question of priority.

34. *siprāyante* (continued)

In my remarks on *siprāyante* in *Ca*, In 10.19 (Das, pp.54f.) I forgot to mention that Cakrapāṇidatta continues his commentary on this word by giving us an alternative explanation too: *kiṃ vā siprāyanta iti śithilībhavanti. anekārthatvād dhātūnām* 'or else "*siprāyante*" [means] [the body members (*gātrāṇi*)] become flaccid, due to the (verbal) roots' many-meaningness (i.e. having many meanings)'. This remark is puzzling, and I am at a loss as to which roots Cakrapāṇidatta is referring to apart from that presupposed in his explanation already discussed by Das, pp.54f. The best I can come up with is what he

might presuppose to be the root on which *śiprā-* 'moustache(d lip)', taken also to mean 'cheek' or 'lip', is based, which might account for 'flaccid'. On this, as well as on other words beginning with *śip°* which Cakrapāṇidatta might have had in mind, see Mayrhofer 3, pp.336-338; as regards words beginning with *sip°*, there do not seem to be any which could be taken to be meant too.

35. On *vātika-, paittika-, ślaiṣmika-, sānnipātika-*

Sūtra 5.1.38 of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (*tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau*) is concerned with the usage of certain secondary suffixes with the connotation "its cause", saying (in the translation of Albrecht Wezler, *Bestimmung und Angabe der Funktion von Sekundär-Suffixen durch Pāṇini*, Wiesbaden 1975, pp.122f.):

> '[Die 5.1.18ff. gelehrten Sekundär-Suffixe] sind semantisch äquivalent [dem Syntagma] "dessen Ursache", [und zwar] "eine Verbindung" oder "eine ungewöhnliche [ominöse] Erscheinung" (d.h. in Gestalt einer Verbindung oder einer ungewöhnlichen Erscheinung)'.

Kātyāyana adds to this two Vārttikas to the effect that this also holds good for that appeasing/calming (*śamana-*) and that exciting (*kopana-*) wind, bile and phlegm, as well as their combination: *tasyanimittaprakaraṇe vātapittaśleṣmabhyaḥ śamanakopanayor upasaṅkhyānam*, and *sannipātāc ca*. Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya ad l.c. explains this by means of the examples: *vātika-*, i.e. *vātasya śamanaṃ kopanaṃ vā* 'appeasing/calming or exciting [agent] of wind', similarly *paittika-*, *ślaiṣmika-* and *sānnipātika-*. In other words, a substance (to take an example) would be a *vātika-* substance if it appeased or excited wind, and so on.

Needless to say, Kātyāyana must be referring to actual speech usage as he observed it. The terminology he alludes to can hardly but be of a medical nature. This does not of course mean that he must have had some definite medical text in mind, for it is just as (or maybe even more) probable that what we have here is the common terminology of people when generally talking of substances or actions with effects such as those mentioned; we too often use medical terms in every-day speech without necessarily being physicians.

Now *vātika-*, *paittika-*, *ślaiṣmika-* and *sānnipātika-* are common words in the 'classical' medical texts (*Ca*, *Su*, *As* and *Ah*). To find out whether and to what degree they conform to the usage described by Kātyāyana, I went through the mentioned texts, as well as the *Siddhasāra*, examining the usage of these terms. The passages in which they seem at first glance in the majority of cases to be in keeping with the described usage are those on poisons, namely *Ah*, Ut 35-38 and the parallels of *As*, *Ci* and *Su* (the chapters of these are conveniently cited in the notes on the respective first verses of the *Ah* chapters), as well as chapter 27 of the *Siddhasāra* (see also *Su*, Ut 43.10). In these chapters various poisons, as well as poisonous animals or their bites, are often called *vātika-* etc. However, even a cursory perusal of the chapters cited shows that there seem to be extremely many cases in which the text seems to refer to poisons or animals in which wind etc. predominate, i.e. not primarily as regards their actions; in such cases *vātika-* etc. would mean rather 'characterised by/having an excess of wind' etc. or the like. That this is more than a feeling is clearly demonstrated by e.g. *As*, Ut 40 (p.312b): *viṣaṃ yaddoṣabhūyiṣṭhaṃ taṃ doṣaṃ prāk prapadyate* 'poison first resorts to that morbific entity by which it is chiefly characterised/which is its chief part'; in other words, the

poison itself is characterised by wind, bile etc. The commentator Indu explains this as *tac ca viṣam āśrayadravyaviśeṣavaśena yena ca doṣeṇa bhūyiṣṭhaṃ sadṛśam tam eva doṣaṃ prathamaṃ prapadyate* 'And that poison, by force/on account of the particular substance on which [it] depends, resorts first to that very morbific entity, to which morbific entity it is most alike' (I cannot translate the second *ca*); according to this, the poison is naturally most alike that morbific entity by which it is mostly characterised, and hence resorts to this. The *As* text however then goes on, after the line just quoted, by saying that the morbific entities in those receptacles of the body that the poison enters cause disorders arising through them (*āśaye yasya yasyaiva tatas tad avatiṣṭhate / tajjān vikārān kurute yān sarveṣūpadekṣyati*); in other words, if the poison enters the receptacle of wind, then disorders due to wind arise, and so on. This means that a morbific entity causes disorders because it is excited by coming into contact with poison, which on its part resorts to the particular morbific entity because it is characterised by the entity in the first place. It is clear that if *vātika-* etc. be used in such a context to characterise the poison, it may become extremely difficult to decide with certainty whether this characterisation refers to the entity or entities characterising the poison, or excited by it.

This may be illustrated by an example. The Kairalī commentary (on this see 26), with regard to *Ah*, Ut 37.48-50, where the bites of spiders are, without the individual terms being explained, classed as *paittika-*, *ślaiṣmika-* and *vātika-*, draws express attention to *As*, Ut 44 (p.362a), which classes spiders as causing disorders of bile (*pittavikārada-*), phlegm (*śleṣmavikārada-*) and wind (*vāyurogada-*). But *As*, Ut 44 (p.364b), where the bites (*daṃśa-*) of the spiders are described, uses not only *ślaiṣmika-* and *vātika-*, but also *pittātmaka-* (and not *paittika-*), which latter means 'characterised by bile' and is glossed by the commentator Indu (who obviously sees an ellipse here) as *pittātmakalūtādaṃśa-* 'bite of a spider characterised by bile' (*ślaiṣmika-* and *vātika-* are glossed only with *kaphātmaka-* and *vātātmaka-* respectively). In any case, saying that something is 'characterised by bile' is not the same as saying that it is 'exciting bile', and this of course raises the question of what *ślaiṣmika-* and *vātika-* here (and, along with *paittika-*, in the *Ah* parallel) actually mean.

When one goes through the chapters mentioned with the above in mind, one finds that there is, as far as I can see, not a single case in which one can confidently say that *vātika-* or the like are used in the sense Kātyāyana gives; the individual cases are either ambiguous, or else do speak against assuming such a meaning in the first place. But at least in the case of these chapters one can consider the meanings Kātyāyana gives. Apart from these chapters, however, I found to my surprise that, though there are scores of passages in which *vātika-*, *paittika-*, *ślaiṣmika-* and *sānnipātika-* are used to denote 'having an excess of ...', 'caused by ...', 'due to ...', 'characterised by ...' or the like, there are, as far as I could see, only *two* cases in which to my understanding a usage such as that described by Kātyāyana could be considered, both however quite clear cases, the term used being each time *vātika-*.

The first passage is *Ca*, Sū 14.44, which mentions substances such as roots etc. which are *vātika-* and *uttaravātika-* (*vātikottaravātikānāṃ punar mūlādīnām utkvāthaiḥ sukhoṣṇaiḥ ... pranāḍīr vā pūrayitvā ... pariṣecayed iti pariṣekaḥ*). Cakrapāṇidatta in his commentary says on this: *vātikāni vātaharāṇy uttaravātikāny uttaravāte pradhānavāte vātaśleṣmaṇi hitānīha grāhyāṇi* '*vātika-* ones, [i.e.] those taking away wind, [and] *uttaravātika-* ones, [i.e.] those beneficial in the case of the *uttara-* wind, [i.e.] the principal wind, [the combination of] wind and phlegm, are here to be utilised'. That

Cakrapāṇidatta is correct as regards *vātika-* is borne out by *vātahara-* in 14.45: *vātaharot-kvāthakṣīraghṛta...koṣṭhakāvagāhas tu yathokta evāvagāhaḥ* (I am unable to comment on *uttaravātika-*, as I have not found the word again in the texts examined).

The second passage is *Ca*, Ci 8.73, which runs:

bastamatsyaśirobhir vā nāḍīsvedaṃ prayojayet
kaṇṭhe śirasi pārśve ca payobhir vā savātikaiḥ,

where *savātikaiḥ* (characterising *payas-* 'milk') obviously means 'together with *vātika-* [substances]'. Cakrapāṇidatta says that *vātika-* here subsumes *uttaravātika-*, citing in this context from another (unidentified) text a passage of four verses listing plants which are *vātika-* and *uttaravātika-*: *savātikair iti vātikottaravātikaiḥ. tantrāntare tu vātikāny uttara-vātikāni ca gaṇena paṭhitāni. yathā* ... (here the verses mentioned follow) *iti.*

This paucity of cases of absolutely clear usage of any terms in the sense Kātyāyana refers to except for the two mentions of *vātika-* in one and the same text is extremely interesting, for it could show that Kātyāyana is here referring to a linguistic peculiarity not part of the speech generally used by the authors of the medical works here examined. This would be in keeping with the fact that these works are seemingly of a north-western or western origin, whereas Kātyāyana was an Easterner or a Southerner (cf. e.g. George Cardona, *Pāṇini. A Survey of Research*, The Hague/Paris 1976, pp.268f.) ("Southerner" here refers most probably not to someone from the modern Deccan, but from a region south of the Doab region in North India).

36. On the treatment of a *gulma-* with a jar

In Das, p.63 I falsely stated that *Ca*, Ci 5 and *Ah*, Ci 14 had no information on the treatment of a *gulma-* by means of a jar. I clearly had a bad day while preparing this note, for actually *Ca*, Ci 5.137ff. and *Ah*, Ci 14.84ff. do mention this treatment. According to these passages, the *gulma-* is to be made flaccid by sudation and brought into the jar (*Ca* has *ghaṭa-* 'jar', *As ghaṭikā-* 'small jar') as in *As*, Ci 16 (p.233b) (see Das, pp.63f.), the latter then being broken. In contrast to the *As* passage, *Ca* and *Ah* tell us that the *gulma-* is then to be wrapped in a cloth and split open (*bhindyāt*) or cut open (*chindyāt*) respectively, after which it is to be pressed (*prapīḍayet*). The *As* passage mentions only the pressing, but since it mentions the same instruments used for splitting or cutting as the other two texts, it seems reasonable to infer that it too presupposes a similar operation. *Ah* and *As* say that the *gulma-* is then to be cleansed (*pramṛjyāt-*); from this it would seem to follow that it has been pressed out (as Hilgenberg-Kirfel, p.423 assume: 'und drücke nur den Tumor ... aus').

Ca however does not mention such cleansing; instead, it speaks of pressing (*mṛd-nīyāt* in the place of *pramṛjyāt*; the *Ca* and *Ah* passages have nearly the same wording otherwise). Then it says that a *gulma-* due to phlegm (*śleṣmagulma-*) is to be smeared (*parilipya*) with certain substances and then sudated (5.141). As it is, the whole procedure with the *ghaṭa-* is expressly prescribed in cases of *gulma-* due to phlegm (*pradadyāt kaphagulmine*, 5.137), 5.141 forming the tail-end of the passage in question. Since 5.52, the verse containing *vilayet* (Das, p.63), is part of a passage (5.48-56) dealing with a *gulma-* due to phlegm too, and since Das, p.64 has drawn attention to passages stating that a *ghaṭī-* 'jar' has as one of its functions the *vilayana-* 'dissolution/disappearance' of a *gulma-*, it seems safe to connect 5.52 with 5.137ff., especially since in both cases an im-

portant part of the treatment seems to be sudation; indeed 5.23 says that sudation removes a *gulma-* (in general): *svedo gulmam apohati.*

Matters are however not that easy. *Ca*, Ci 5.48-56 actually describe the treatment of the *gulma-* due to phlegm by means of medicines and purging agents to be taken in (a *gulma-* seems in general mostly to be treated by such methods), saying expressly that due to this the *gulma-* is 'removed from its place' (5.53: *sthānād apasṛtaṃ jñātvā kapha-gulmaṃ*). Only in special cases (5.55: *kṛtamūlaṃ mahāvāstuṃ kaṭhinaṃ stimitaṃ gurum*) is a caustic mixture (*kṣārāriṣṭa-*) or fire prescribed. The former is in general something that is ingested. As regards the latter, see 5.62f., as well as *Ah*, Ci 14.116ff. and *As*, Ci 16 (p.235b); especially the latter two passages make it clear that fire is used to burn the *gulma-* out. Nowhere in *Ca*, Ci 5.48-56 or its near vicinity is a jar mentioned, so that it does rather look as if the treatment with this were an alternative to the methods described here. This does not however speak against, but rather for the derivation of *vilayet* from *vi√lī* in Das, pp.63f., for a clear connection between *Ca*, Ci 5.48ff. and 5.137ff. would of course, because of *bhindyāt* in the latter passage, at once throw up the question of whether *vilayet* might not after all be derived from *√vil*(*/√bil*), whereas otherwise we would simply have a general statement referring to the removal or disappearance of the *gulma-*, which would fit with the other statements of this sort mentioned above.

The actual treatment of the *gulma-* with the jar however remains problematic. We have already seen that *Ca* has *mṛdnīyāt* in the place of *pramṛjyāt*. The latter is also found in the *As* passage (p.233b), and is explained by the commentator Indu as *mrañkṣayet* (= *mrakṣayet*), which could mean 'one should rub (hard)' or 'one should smear/anoint'. What further makes this even more problematic is that, while *As*, Ci 16 (p.233a) clearly refers to a *gulma-* due to phlegm (as in *Ca*) which is to be treated by means of the jar, *Ah*, Ci 14.84 speaks of 'everywhere in the case of a *gulma-*' (*sarvatra gulme*), the commentator Aruṇadatta even seeming to comment upon the reading *sarva-smin gulme* 'in all cases of *gulma-*'. Now the passage on the use of the jar is followed in *Ah* too by the very same verse as *Ca*, Ci 5.141, namely *Ah*, Ci 14.87cd-88ab, relating to the treatment of a *gulma-* due to phlegm by sudation, which Aruṇadatta explains as being an alternative treatment, it being unclear whether he takes it to be an alternative to the treatment with the jar immediately preceding, or to the treatment of the same sort of *gulma-* described in 14.76ff., where however no jar is mentioned, as in the case of *Ca*, Ci 5.48ff. *Ah*, Ci 14.88cd then says that the *gulma-* is thus removed from its place (*evaṃ ca visṛtaṃ sthānāt kaphagulmaṃ*), which is an echo of *Ca*, Ci 5.53 mentioned above, but in quite a different place.

The confusion (to which we may add the use of *vinayet* in *Ah*, Ci 14.78; see Das, p.63) is heightened by *As*, Ci 16 (p.233b), which (in prose) echoes the *Ah* passage (also alluding to a removal of the *gulma-* from its place: *evam amunā krameṇa sthānād apasṛte śithilībhūte ca gulme*), but quite clearly in the same context as the *Ca* passage (Ci 5.137ff.), as the whole procedure with the jar is expressly said to apply in the case of a *gulma-* due to phlegm, the removal being due to this and the subsequent sudation. But we have seen above that the *As* passage does not expressly mention a splitting or cutting open of the *gulma-*; the mention of the same instruments could however be taken to be a reference to this, though we must also reckon with the possibility of these being here taken to be used only for pounding the *gulma-*, as the text would say if taken literally and without reference to the other passages (*gulmaṃ vimārgājapadādarśānytamena vastrāntaritaṃ prapiḍayet pramṛjyāt*). As it is, it is unclear what the splitting or cutting

open of the two other texts is supposed to do; whether Hilgenberg-Kirfel's 'pressing out' in this connection is correct is a matter of debate. Are we to assume that the following sudation described by *Ca* makes the *gulma-* flow out of the opening? I am unable to bring clarity into this matter.

37. *heman-* amd *hiraṇya-*

Ca, Vi 8.11 tells us that in connection with the rite of initiating a new student a piece of sacrificial open ground (*sthaṇḍila-*) is to be made *yathoktacandanodakumbhakṣaumahemahiraṇyarajatamaṇimuktāvidrumālaṅkṛta-*, i.e. decorated with the substances mentioned in this long compound. Among the substances mentioned we find two words for 'gold' side by side, namely *heman-* and *hiraṇya-* (followed by *rajata-*, silver). Do the two words here allude to different sorts of gold, maybe to unworked and worked gold? (Cf. in this connection also Das, p.60, no.19, on apparent synonyms being used differently.) Or is *hiraṇya-* used here in the sense of 'precious metal', which seems to be the oldest known meaning of this word (cf. Wilhelm Rau, *Metalle und Metallgeräte im vedischen Indien*, Mainz/Wiesbaden 1973, 18, also J. Gonda, *The Functions and Significance of Gold in the Veda*, Leiden etc. 1991, 63ff.)? Then *heman-* would probably be an adjectival qualification, maybe indicative of the colour of the metal (on this cf. especially Paul Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*, [ed. Georg Buddruss], Wiesbaden 1971, 150ff.). The trouble is that this meaning of *hiraṇya-* is highly archaic; can we really postulate it here? There is of course also the possibility that one of the two words for 'gold' is an old gloss that is not original to the text, but has later been incorporated into it; unfortunately, we have no evidence to prove or disprove this. (On the words for 'gold' used here see also Mayrhofer 3, 598f.; 607.)

38. *mūrdha-*

In a note on *Ah*, Ut 16.33 the editor remarks that Candranandana in his as yet unpublished commentary comments on an additional line after this verse; the line runs: *yaṣṭīhimotpalakṣīraiḥ kuryān mūrdhasya lepanam*. Though *mūrdha-* as the final member of a compound is attested, to my knowledge this was not hitherto true of uncompounded *mūrdha-*.

39. *āvī-*

āvī-, frequently used in medical texts to denote birth pangs, has according to our dictionaries (which also list *āvi-* in the same meaning) the nominative singular form *āvī* (older *āvíˊ*). I have come across only three instances of the nominative singular in the four "classical" medical texts and the *Siddhasāra*. In the case of *Su*, Śā 10.9 the nominative is in keeping with what our dictionaries tell us: *na cāprāptāvī pravāhasva*. In the other two instances, however, the nominative is not *āvī*, but *āvīḥ*; both are to be found in *Ca*, Śā 8.40: *anāgatāvīr mā pravāhiṣṭhāḥ. yā hy* (variant: *yady*) *anāgatāvīḥ pravāhate vyartham evāsyās tat karma bhavati*. This seemingly more archaic form is to my knowledge not attested anywhere else. It is however interesting to note that there is an only lexically attested *avíˊḥ* (nominative) ('menstruating woman'?) (cf. also Wackernagel-Debrunner III, § 87b, with p.596). It must of course also be pointed out that the nominative

singular is in all the cases mentioned the last member of a compound (a feminine adjective), though it is doubtful whether this can have exerted an influence on its inflexion. Of course the above is provisional on *āvīḥ* really standing for the nominative singular and not the accusative plural, but it is difficult to see how the latter could be taken to be meant here. (On *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* see 44 below.)

40. *āna-*

Su, Ni 13.39cd (*jāyante piḍakā yūnāṃ vaktre yā mukhadūṣikāḥ*) has a variant which runs: *yuvānapiḍakā yūnāṃ vijñeyā mukhadūṣikāḥ*. *yuvāna-* is seemingly to be analysed as *yuvan-* (*yuva*) + *āna-*, i.e. 'youth's face'. *āna-* is a problematic word, and one might thus hesitate to accept this analysis, but Gayadāsa, who clearly reads according to the variant (with °*piḍikā* for °*piḍakā*: *yuvānapiḍikā*), adheres to it too: *śālmalīkaṇṭakākārā ityādinā yuvānapiḍikāḥ. yūnām ānanaṃ yuvānaṃ* (printed *yūvānananaṃ*). *tasya piḍikā yuvānapiḍikāḥ. pṛṣodarāder ākṛtigaṇatvād ekasya nakārasya lopaḥ*. In other words, he explains *āna-* as being formed from *ānana-* through the elision of one *na* according to Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī 6.3.109 (*pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). One must in this connection however also point to a Vedic attestation of this word, namely *āná-* in *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* 1.52.17 (whether the word is also to be found in the Kashmirian version of the Paippalāda recension of the *Atharvavedasaṃhitā*, namely in 1.97.2, is a matter of debate).

41. *ardita-*, m. (continued)

Ah, Sū 12.48 says:

rogamārgaḥ sthitas tatra yakṣmapakṣavadhārditāḥ
mūrdhādirogāḥ sandhyasthitrikaśūlagrahādayaḥ.

One might be tempted to see in *yakṣmapakṣavadhārdita-* an adjective qualifying *mūrdhādiroga-*, which would then give: 'afflictions of the head etc. afflicted/distressed/tormented with/by *yakṣman-* and *pakṣavadha-*', but not only would that be peculiar, but it would also not do justice to *mūrdhādiroga-*: *ādi-* 'etc.' would already subsume the diseases mentioned, which afflict the thoracic region; moreover, *ardita-* as the name of an affliction would fit *mūrdhan-*, since it is the name of an affliction of the head. Thus Hemādri is most probably right in taking *ardita-* to be the name of an affliction here (*ardita ekāyāmaḥ*). This means however that we would in this verse have a further attestation of *ardita-* as a masculine (and not a neuter) name of an affliction (see Das, p.58).

42. *kṣīri-*

Su, Śā 4.11 has the line *vṛkṣād yathābhiprahatāt kṣīriṇaḥ kṣīrim āvahet*. If *kṣīri-* is not simply a mistake for *kṣīra-* here, then it seems to be a back-formation from *kṣīrivṛkṣa-*, in which the first member of the compound is actually *kṣīrin-*. That this reading was not accepted by all is shown by the variant *kṣīriṇaḥ kṣīram āsravet*.

43. Cakrapāṇidatta and lions

In *Ca*, Ci 9.82 lions (*siṃha-*) are mentioned. Since this text seems to stem from a region previously inhabited by lions or at least near to such regions, this is not surprising.

By contrast, the commentator Cakrapāṇidatta hails from Bengal, where lions are unknown but tigers are common. It is thus highly interesting that Cakrapāṇidatta glosses *siṃha-* with *vyāghra-* 'tiger' (*siṃhair iti vyāghraiḥ*). Does he not know what a lion is, or may *vyāghra-* also be used sporadically to refer to lions? The latter is not impossible, but seems unlikely.

44. *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ*

According to *As*, Śā 3 (p.301b) a woman about to give birth is to be given certain rules of conduct by the physician, amongst these being the admonition to press only gently at the beginning of the process of delivery, the words the physician is to use being *śanaiḥ śanaiś ca pūrvaṃ pravāhiṣṭhāḥ*. Morphologically *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* would seem to be an injunctive of the *iṣ*-aorist of *pra√vāh*, used, as is not rare in Vedic, in an imperative sense. Intriguingly, an imperative form of *pra√vāh* is actually found in Śā 3 (p.301a), namely *pravāhayasva*. An injunctive is clearly present in *Ca*, Śā 8.40 in **39** above (*mā pravāhiṣṭhāḥ*), seemingly clearly derived from *pra√vāh*, since the next sentence has the verbal form *pravāhate*, and since we also find the participle *pravāhamāṇa-* (twice) and the finite form *pravāheta* in the same passage. This very same injunctive is even present in *As*, Śā 3 (p.301b) itself: *anāgatāyāṃ vedanāyāṃ mā pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* (on p.302a we also find *pravāhamāṇa-*). But if *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* is thus an injunctive in *pūrvaṃ pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* in the *As* passage too, then we have here a modal usage which seems to be quite archaic; is *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* thus actually a mistake for the precative **pravāhiṣīṣṭhāḥ*? The other editions of the text I could consult (see **27**) however read *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* too (the edition of Tarṭe has *pravāhiṣṭāḥ* on p.210, clearly a misprint).

Moreover, the verb *√vāh*, which is to my knowledge found only in classical Sanskrit (i.e. rather late), seems apart from the cases mentioned above to be attested only in the present system (as far as actually verifiable forms are concerned, though of course forms from the other tenses may yet turn up). As it is, the etymology of *√vāh* is unclear; it has been variously connected especially with *√vah* and with the ultimately Middle Indo-Aryan *bāhayati/vāhayati* (*bāheti/vāheti*) 'remove; expel', common especially in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, of which again it is not clear whether this is to be derived from *bahis* or from the causative (*vāhayati*) of *√vah*. Actually, *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* may morphologically just as well be derived from *pra√vah* (this also applies to the infinitive *pravāhayitum* in *Ca*, Śā 8.39); indeed, nouns like *pravāhaṇa-* etc. are as a rule derived from *pra√vah*. The problem in this case is however that though *√vah* does form a sigmatic aorist, this is, as far as I can see, attested only with *s* and not with *iṣ*. If however *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* should indeed derive from *pra√vah*, then it needs to be examined whether *(pra)√vāh* might not ultimately have been secondarily derived from this or similar forms. Should we however really have such a back formation here, then *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* and *pravāhate* etc. side by side in *Ca*, as well as *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* and *pravāhayasva* etc. in *As*, would show that the connection between *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* and *pra√vah* was no more felt by the respective authors.

One could also consider deriving *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* etc. from *pra√bādh* (*pra√vādh*); then one would of course have to postulate a "Middle Indo-Aryan" phonetic change, but on the other hand the *iṣ*-aorist of *√bādh* (*√vādh*) is well attested, and there are also semantic arguments in favour of such a derivation: *√bādh* (*√vādh*) 'press; force; remove; repel', later also 'press back' > 'resist; stop, prevent', has, according to our dictionaries, in combination with *pra* the meaning 'press forward; drive, urge'. However, this meaning

seems to be confined to the very oldest stratum of the language; actually, we know of only sporadic cases where it can be postulated (*Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* 7.95.1 and 10.108.9), and these have to my knowledge not yet been studied semantically in this regard. In any case, the meaning does not seem to be clearly attested from later times; *bāhū kasmāt prabādhata ābhyāṃ karmāṇi* in *Nirukta* 3.8, in which it is often taken to be present, is problematic as regards the meaning of *pra√bādh* (though on the other hand the etymological derivation of *bāhu-* from *√bādh* here shows that to Yāska the change of *dh* to *h* posed no problem). Otherwise, we seem to have only the meaning 'repel, keep off', or 'torment', or the like, which does make the derivation of *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* etc. from *pra√bādh* difficult, though not impossible, on semantic grounds.

But however *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* in *śanaiḥ śanaiḥ pūrvaṃ pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* is ultimately to be correctly explained, that the form was considered archaic or at least difficult is amply demonstrated by the variants *pravāhethāḥ* and *pravāhayethāḥ*, which are "normal" optative forms of *pra√vāh*, in some manuscripts of Aruṇadatta's commentary on *Ah*, Śā 1.81, where the *As* passage is quoted (the *Ah* passage itself has *pravāheta*). Indu in his commentary on the *As* passage also glosses *pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* with *pravāhayethāḥ*. Even the "correct" injunctive form in *mā pravāhiṣṭhāḥ* (see above) seems to have occasioned difficulties, since the edition of Tarṭe mentions a variant *mā pravāhethā[ḥ]*. And in *Su*, Śā 10.9, the parallel to *Ca*, Śā 8.40 we find *pravāhasva* (also quoted above in 39) and *pravāhethāḥ*.

45. *staimitʲya-*?

Su, Ka 5.49ab runs: *śophaśoṣapratiśyāyatimirārucipīnasān*. Ḍalhaṇa in his commentary says that Jejjaṭa reads *staimitya* (or *staimityaṃ*?) in the place of *pratiśyāya* (*pratiśyāyasthāne jejjaṭācāryaḥ staimityaṃ paṭhati. atra staimityaṃ niścalatā*). Since in this reading Ḍalhana ascribes to Jejjaṭa one syllable is missing to complete the metre, we must ask whether Ḍalhaṇa has simply not mentioned a *pādapūraka* such as *ca* or the like, or whether in Jejjaṭa's reading *staimitya-* is to be pronounced as *staimitʲya-*.

I herewith tender my thanks to Prof.Dr. Srinivasa Ayya Srinivasan and Dr. Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld for commenting on drafts of these miscellanea.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ah	*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (with the commentaries of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri), ed. Aṇṇā [sic] Moreśwar Kunte and Kṛiṣṇa Rāmchandra Śāstrī Navre, Bombay ^{6}1939.
As	*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* (with the commentary of Indu), ed. Ṭi. Rudrapāraśava, Trichur 1913-1926.
Ca	*Carakasaṃhitā* (with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta), ed. Jādavaji Trikamji Āchārya, Bombay ^{3}1941.
Ci	Cikitsāsthāna/Cikitsitasthāna.
Das	see p.6, footnote *.
Delbrück	Bertold Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, reprint Darmstadt 1976.
Ghāṇekar	Bhāskar Govind Ghāṇekar, *Suśrutasaṃhitā. Sūtrasthānam. 'Āyurvedarahasyadīpikākhyayā' vyākhyayā samullasitā*, [reprint] Naī Dillī 1977.

Gotō	Toshifumi Gotō, *Die "I. Präsensklasse" im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpräsentia*, Wien 1987.
Hilgenberg-Kirfel	Luise Hilgenberg, Willibald Kirfel, *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. Ein altindisches Lehrbuch der Heilkunde*, Leiden 1941.
In	Indriyasthāna.
Ka	Kalpa(siddhi)sthāna.
Mayrhofer	Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg 1956-1980.
Ni	Ṇidānasthāna.
Renou	Louis Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris ^{2}1961, reprint 1984.
Śā	Śārīrasthāna.
Si	Siddhisthāna.
Siddhasāra	*The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 1: The Sanskrit Text*, ed. R.E. Emmerick, Wiesbaden 1980.
Speijer	J.S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, reprint Delhi 1973.
Su	*Suśrutasaṃhitā* (with the commentaries of Ḍalhaṇa and Gayadāsa), ed. Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya and Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya, Bombay ^{3}1938.
Sū	Sūtrasthāna.
Ut	Uttarasthāna/Uttaratantra.
Vi	Vimānasthāna.
Vṛk	*Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda*, ed. Rahul Peter Das, Stuttgart 1988.
Wackernagel-Debrunner II,1	Jacob Wackernagel and Albert Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik II,1*, Göttingen ^{2}1957.
Wackernagel-Debrunner II,2	Idem II,2, Göttingen 1954.
Wackernagel-Debrunner III	Idem III, Göttingen 1930.

Sri Lankan Medical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

JINADASA LIYANARATNE

The manuscripts under consideration are written on palm-leaves in the Sinhala script and in the Sinhala, Sanskrit and Pāli languages. They belong to the 19th and early 20th centuries. The sizes of the codices vary from a single folio, 66.5x4 cm (MS Sinh.a.2(R)), to 141 folios, 28x5 cm (MS Sinh.d.12(R)); the average size of several manuscripts is in the region of 30x5 cm. A particular case is the codex, MS Sinh.e.6(R), with several palm-leaves sewn into one folio, 307x3 cm, folded into 19. Most of the manuscripts have wooden covers.

Apart from a card index itemising eighty-two manuscripts, and two handlists, one itemising twenty-two unidentified manuscripts and the other itemising nine more included in the card index, no other catalogue has been prepared on the Sinhala holdings of the Bodleian Library. The present paper is therefore the first description of these documents.[1]

The medical manuscripts in this collection reflect three stages in the evolution of the healing art in Sri Lanka: 1) the stage when the astrologer, priest and healer were more or less the same person, 2) the transitional period when charms (*mantra*s) and amulets (*yantra*s) were still used in healing, and 3) the stage when medicine proper came into vogue. Charms are however found occasionally even in the medical texts of the last stage.

The manuscripts belonging to the first stage fall into two different categories, both in verse: 1) invocations to planetary deities and other divinities (*bali kavi*), 2) incantations used in exorcism, devil dancing (*tovil kavi*). They therefore come under demonology (*bhūtavidyā*), one of the eight branches (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Āyurveda[2]. However, the *bhūtavidyā* in Sri Lankan healing does not correspond exactly to that explained by Suśruta. For instance, the latter[3] describes the *navagraha* as Skandagraha, Skandāpasmāra, Śakunī, Revatī, Pūtanā, Andhapūtanā, Śītapūtanā, Mukhamaṇḍikā and Naigameṣa, whereas the *navagraha* in the Sinhala texts are the planets: Sun (*ravi*), Moon (*candra*), Mars (*kuja*), Mercury (*budha*), Jupiter (*guru*), Venus (*śukra*), Saturn (*śani*), Ascending Node (*rāhu*) and Descending Node (*kētu*). The underlying idea of the relation between man (*puruṣa*) and Nature (*prakṛti*), the microcosm and the macrocosm, common also to the concept of the five elements (*pañcamahābhūta*: water, fire, wind, earth and ether), is noteworthy.

The manuscripts examined by me are treated below from two different points of view: *bali kavi*, *tovil kavi*, *yantra* and *mantra*, as well as *yantra* and *mantra* along with medical recipes are described in general, texts of a purely medical nature in detail. In both cases, an attempt is made to place these documents in their cultural setting.

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[1] A report written by me on the entire collection of Sinhala manuscripts in the Bodleian Library appears in the *Bodleian Library Record*, XIII.6, 1991, 514-518.

[2] See *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, Sū. 3.44-46, ed. Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya, Bombay 1938; *Caraka-saṃhitā*, Sū. 30.28, ed. P.V. Sharma, Varanasi 1981.

[3] Ut. 27.4-5.

Bali kavi: **(1)** MS Sinh.b.26(R): *Citra randunu pralaya*, **(2)** MS Sinh.c.15(R): *Girē upata* (Origin of the areca nut cutter), **(3)** MS Sinh.c.16(R), **(4)** MS Sinh.c.18(R): *Randunu ālattiya*, **(5)** MS Sinh.c.20: *kavaca* (protective incantations) **(6)** MS Sinh.c.21(R), **(7)** MS Sinh.c.22(R), **(8)** MS Sinh.c.23(R), **(9)** MS Sinh.c.24(R): *Daḷumura upata* (Origin of betel), **(10)** MS Sinh.d.16(R), **(11)** MS Sinh.e.6(R), **(12)** MS Sinh.f.4(R).

Items (4) and (7) are written by HIÑGURUGAMUVĒ PUÑCIRĀLA[4]. Items (3) and (9) respectively belonged to/were written by MĀDAVATTĒ RATURĀLA and KAHAṬAGAHA-KUMBURE PUÑCIHATĀ *bali ädurā* (= exorcist). The scribe of item (5) was KURAVA-TURĒ(?) APPUHAMY[5].

The following two verses are examples of *bali kavi* from MS Sinh.e.6(R):

tosē velā ā marasen pāramitā dasayaki *nē*
esē e dasa binbara gena vasavatu paradā hari *nē*
mesē sirō dātu anin äti piripota dura hari *nē*
isē tiyena uṇa ginijal emuni belen dura hari *nē*

"The Vasavarti Māra who came happily with a host, ten *bimbara*[6] strong, was vanquished by means of the ten Perfections (*pāramitā*). Thus, may the present mishap be dispelled through (the power of) the Head Relic. May the flames of fever in the head be dispelled through the power of that Sage (= the Buddha)."

aṭasiya sandi navasiya nahara noma hä *rā*
aḍutun keḷak rōbu da isakes no hä *rā*
detis riyan baḍaväl rōga duru ka *rā*
rakin me ātura häma bōkal vagā ka *rā*

"Not excluding the eight hundred joints, nine hundred veins, two and a half crores of hairs of the body and of the head, and thirty two cubits of intestine — may the diseases of all these be dispelled; may this patient be protected for a long time."

The word *häma* "all" in the last line mars the metre and has no meaning in the context.

The first verse gives an idea of the soothing rhythm[7] of *bali kavi*, and points out the practice of invoking the power of the Buddha to heal diseases. The second verse shows the healer's concept of anatomy.

Tovil kavi: **(1)** MS Sinh.c.17(R), **(2)** MS Sinh.c.19(R), **(3)** MS Sinh.d.13(R), **(4)** MS Sinh.d.14(R) (*Tovil kavi* + *Pattini deviyangē kavi*).

*Yantra*s and *mantra*s, at times with medical prescriptions in addition: **(1)** MS Sinh. c.14(R), **(2)** MS Sinh.c.25(R), **(3)** MS Sinh.d.4(R), **(4)** MS Sinh.d.12(R), **(5)** MS Sinh. d.15(R), **(6)** MS Sinh.e.1(R), **(7)** MS Sinh.e.2(R), **(8)** MS Sinh.e.5(R), **(9)** MS Sinh. e.7(R), **(10)** MS Sinh.e.8(R), **(11)** MS Sinh.f.2(R), **(12)** MS Sinh.g.4(R), **(13)** MS Sansk. c.122(R). The scribe/owner of item (5) is GĀLGOḌA-GEDARA APPUHAMY.

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[4] *Rāla* is an honorofic, signifying a status similar to master, officer. Cf. *vedarāla*, physician.

[5] *Appuhamy* is an honorific applied in medieval Lanka to the sons of notables; later, it was appended to the names of males of certain families in the Low Country (*Siṃhala śabdakoṣaya*, University of Ceylon, Colombo 1965).

[6] Literally "weight of the earth", meaning a huge number.

[7] These verses are recited, or rather chanted, melodiously to the accompaniment of a hand bell, creating a soothing effect on the nerves.

Of the manuscripts indicated above, the following have been bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Dr W. Y. Evans-Wentz in 1965: MS Sinh.b.26(R), MS Sinh.c.23(R), MS Sinh.c.25(R), MS Sinh.d.13(R), MS Sinh.d.14(R), MS Sinh.d.15(R), MS Sinh.e.1(R), MS Sinh.e.2(R), MS Sinh.e.5(R), MS Sinh.e.6(R), MS Sinh.e.7(R), MS Sinh.e.8(R), MS Sinh.f.2(R), MS Sinh.f.4(R), MS Sinh.g.4(R). These manuscripts bore the shelfmarks of the MS PLU (Palm-leaf unidentified) series before they were examined by me.

The nine manuscripts in the shelfmark series from MS Sinh.c.14(R) to MS Sinh. c.22(R) have been acquired in 1967.

MS Sinh.c.14(R) (*Sarppa auṣadha mantra vidhiya*, prose and verse) and MS Sinh. d.4(R) contain *mantra*s as well as medical recipes for snakebites. The latter manuscript is described here as an example of this type of text. It is incomplete in that the text begins at folio 1 (*ka*, with the usual *sva* for *svasti*) in the middle of a sentence, which expounds *dūta pratikāra*, treating the messenger (who comes to fetch the physician) to remove the poison in the person stung by a snake. The remedy prescribed is to chant various *mantra*s, corresponding to the different days of the week, one hundred and eight times into one's hand, seven times into one's foot, shake off [with gestures of the hand and foot], and tap the messenger seven times with the tip of one's fingernails saying that there is no poison at the point touched, then send back the messenger.

The rest of the contents are: (2 r 7 — 2 v 5) omens (*nimiti lakṣaṇa*) and symptoms (*ātura lakṣaṇa*), (2 v 6 — 4 r 1) the food of the eight types of *nāga*s during seven days (of the week), (4 r 2 — 4 r 9) the characteristics of the four fangs of snakes, (4 r 9 — 4 v 5) offerings (*doḷa*) made to *yakṣaṇī*s, (4 v 7 — 4 v 8) the necessity, in the first place, to free the poison from fixation (that could have been provoked by enemies) (*bäňdi visa ätnam kapā*) and making the poison subside by employing *mantra*s and remedies, (6 v 3 — 10 r 1) *mantra*s and medicines for all types of snake poison, (19 v 6) medicine for the poison of *nāga*s, (19 v 7 — 21 v 5) medicine for the poison of vipers (*poḷon visa*), (21 v 6 — 22 v 9) remedies for the poison of *karavala*s (*Bangarus ceylonicus*), (23 r 5) medicine for the *kaṭakaḷuvā* (black-mouthed snake), (23 r 6 — 23 v 4) medicine for the *telissā*, (24 r 1) medicine for the *māpilā*, (24 r 7) medicine for the rat snake (*val garaňḍiyā*). Here the remedies for the poison of feetless animals, the serpents, end, and the remedies for animals with feet begin: (25 r 1) dogs, (25 r 7) ground lizards (*hikanalā*), (26 r 6) tarantulas (*divi makuḷuvā*), (26 r 10) hornets (*debarā*).

The following is an example of a remedy prescribed for the poison of any kind of serpent (9 r 5 — 9 v 7):[8]

pāradaṃ gandhakaṃ ṭaṃkaṃ savindhavaṃ <saindhavaṃ> maňḍukā[ṃ] tathā |
etat sarva[ṃ] samādāya ravipatra-rasena caiḥ <ca> ||
mardditaṃ naramūtreṇa nasyavhaňjana-<nasyāñjana->lepanaṃ |
aṣṭanāga-viṣaň cāpi nasyaṃti garuňḍoditam <naśyati garuṇḍoditam> ||[9]

[8] In the quotations given below the vertical stroke (*daṇḍa*) and many other punctuation marks have been inserted by me. The Sanskrit orthography has also been corrected.

[9] Cf. *pāradādi guḷiya* (Skt. *pāradādi guṭikā*) in the *Sārārtha-saṃgrahaya*, ed. Aryadasa Kumarasinghe, Nugegoda 1987, p.1150:

pāradaṃ ṭaṅkaṇaṃ gandhaṃ sindhujaṃ maṇḍukīṃ tathā |
arkakṣīreṇa sampiṣya guñjāmātrair vaṭiś caret ||
nṛmūtra-gharṣitā nasye lepe yuktā tathā 'ñjane |
guṭī nāgaviṣaṃ hanti nāgaughaṃ garuḍo yathā ||

The translator renders *maňḍukī* as *makuṇuvänna*, and *ravipatra* as *varāpatra*.

The manuscript ends (27 r 7 — 27 v 2) with a list of drugs and their substitutes: spikenard (*jaṭāmāṃsa*) in place of the pepper creeper (*hareṇuka*), mace (*vasivāsi* <*vasāvāsi*>) in place of *Knoxia zeylanica* (*tuvaṭalā* <*tuvaralā*>), dried flowers of the timber tree (Skt. *madhūka*) (*mīpuk* <*mīpup*>) in place of liquorice (*välmī*), dates (*yon iňdi*) in place of plums (*midi*), dry *mīpup* in place of dates, cumin seed (*duru*) or parsley (*asamodagam*) or dry ginger (*siddhiňguru*) in place of barley (*yavasāl*), jaggery of *kitul* (*Garyota urens Linn.*) in place of sugar, gingelly oil for oil, cinnamon bark (*lamaňga suňbuḷu*) in place of *mīpup*.

The manuscript closes with the usual concluding formula *siddhir astu. śubham astu. kalyāṇa siddhir astu* (27 v 2).

*Mantra*s were used not only in the case of diseases whose origin was attributed to evil spirits, but also in the case of those attributed to the three humours (*doṣa*s). The following is an example from Ms Sinh.d.15(R): ... (15 r 6 — 16 r 1) *Lovturā Sarvajña rājottamayānan vahansēgē ājñāven ānub[h]āven adat mē ātura pandaskande* <*pañcaskande*> *siyalu antarā duru koṭa pupudu* <*pubudu*> *va āraksā bänden kuru kuru dēvī tundos* (Skt. *tridoṣa*) *banda banda tesvaha* <*svāhā*>. *ōnnamō* <*oṃ namo*> *vāta pit tundos selesma* (Skt. *vāta*, *pitta*, *tridoṣa*, *śleṣman*) *banda tundos aḍaňgu karavā banda navaggriha* <*navagrahā*> *banda paňcapakṣa banda paňca kelēsa banda paňca kelēsa rusivarun navadenā atiṃ bändāya budun atiṃ tundos aḍaňgu banda taḍuttu pūṭṭu nivārṇṇayē svāha...sivuvaru* <*siṭuvaru ?*> *atiṃ banda munivaru atin banda tundos aḍaňgu banda hiṭapan taḍuttuyi*.

*Mantra*s were used mainly as a therapy in the case of illnesses of expectant mothers, in childbirth and for the poison of serpents, insects and other animals. MS Sinh.c.14(R) described above is an example. Text number 6 of the manuscript MS Sinh.d.12(R) gives remedies and charms for snakebites, taken down from the Veddahs of the Uva Province by Mr. Bibile, R.M. (Raṭē Mahatmayā, Chief of the District) of Bibile, and Mr. E.D. Dharmasena, S.M.R. (Supervisor of Minor Roads),[10] Uva (South-West of Sri Lanka).

The repository of these *mantra*s, the *bali ädurā* and the *yakädurā*, was also often versed in astrology. In this last capacity he was known as *näkätkaru* (≺ Skt. *nakṣatra-kāra*), the person who determined auspicious times. He was consulted at every important event in life: at the birth of a child he had to establish the horoscope of the latter and indicate, according to the horoscope, the letters with which the newborn one's first name should begin. For ceremonies relating to childhood too (cutting the hair of the child for the first time, giving solid food for the first time, initiating the child to the Sinhala alphabet, the ceremonies connected with the attainment of puberty of a female child), the astrologer had to fix an auspicious time. At marriage it was again he who had to compare the horoscopes of the two eventual partners to see whether the marriage would be a success or not. An auspicious time had to be fixed by the astrologer for the marriage, for starting the construction of a new house, for house warming and all other important enterprises, both individual and social. In the case of illness, the astrologer similarly re-examined the horoscope of the sick person and advised on the suitable therapy: invocatory verses to be recited before Buddhist or Hindu divinities, praying for

[10] I owe the explanation of the abbreviation to Mr. B.P. Tilakaratne, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka.

the cure and protection of the sick person (these verses, *set kavi*, were composed by the astrologer himself), or preparation of an amulet, *bali* or *tovil*.

Parallelly or later, the Buddhist monk became the moral mentor and the literate personage in the community, and was often adept in astrology and healing. This multi-faceted role of the Buddhist monk is borne out by several manuscripts, as for example, MS Sinh.d.3(R) and MS Sansk.c.122(R). The first belonged to K.P. DHARMADARSI THERA (see p.49 below) and the second to NĀGASENA THERA. The latter manuscript contains several texts, medical, astrological and linguistic: *i)* (1 r 1 — 3 v 3) *mantra*s for snakebites and for healing various diseases, *ii)* (1 fol.) Pāli text with Sinhala commentary on letters of the alphabet, *iii)* (1 r 2 — 7 r 6) analysis and commentary on the Sinhala alphabet: *Mūlākṣara-vikāśinī-padārthaya* alias *Sōḍi-sannaya*, *iv)* (1 fol.) short text on astrology, *v)* (1 v 2 — 8 r 1) Sanskrit medical text with Sinhala commentary on the eight methods of diagnosis (*nāḍī*, *mūtra*, *mala*, *jihvā*, *mukha*, *netra*, *svara*, *bala*), *vi)* (8 v 1) Sanskrit text on *paňcapakṣināman*, *vii)* (up to fol.13) astrological text on *tithikāla*, *paňcakāla guṇa* etc., *viii)* (13r — 15r) astrological texts (Sinhala verses and prose). These two manuscripts are an index to the culture of an ordinary Sinhala Buddhist monk of the 19th century.

The first and second categories of manuscripts referred to above show how Buddhism was integrated into popular beliefs and practices. Most of the *mantra*s, too, invoke the Buddha for healing purposes. The following is an example from MS Sinh.d.3(R): (61 v 6) *Ōnnamo apa Sammā Sambudumāṇiyan vahansēṭa antima kālayehi āna* (?) *kusa vyādhiyak vädī Jīvaka nan vedānō genā divya avusadhaya Budun no valaňdā Nēraňjanan gaňgāvaṭa dämū tänēdī diya dekaṭa bedī siṭiya ānubhāven ājñāven adat mē āturayāgē vamanē atīsārē navatiňḍa Lovuturā Budunnen varami. vamanēṭa diya maturā denu.* "Om! Salutation! Our Omniscient One, during the last stages of His life, had a malady in the stomach, and when the physician named Jīvaka brought a divine medicine, the Buddha did not partake of it and put it into the river Nerañjarā, whereupon the water split into two. Due to the power and effect of that, may the Supreme Buddha, even today, decree that the vomiting and diarrhoea of this patient be stopped. Charm water with this *mantra* and give for vomiting."

It is interesting to note how in this process of integration certain practices which are quite contrary to Buddhist ethics were given a place alongside Buddhism. Thus manuscript MS Sinh.f.3(R) deals with astrological topics such as the position of the planets in the different houses of the horoscope, black magic containing even *mantra*s to kill persons, and finally, remedies for various diseases.

The divinities invoked are: Nātha, Viṣṇu, Saman, Īśvara, Skanda or Kataragama, Pattini.[11]

It will be seen from what precedes that the first two categories of manuscripts are more of anthropological than of medical interest.

[11] See MS Sinh.c.16(R), MS Sinh.c.24(R), MS Sinh.d.14(R), MS Sinh.e.7(R).

Purely medical texts[12]

(1) MS Sinh.a.2(R): Medical prescriptions for fever.

One folio, 66.5x4 cm, 3 to 4 lines, 115 akṣaras per line. Writing is clear, big letters. Sinhala text.

Begins: (1 r 1) (Decoction for fever) *uṇata kasāya. rasakiṅda, kalāṅduru ala, koṭṭan, irimusu <iramusu> mul, kahabiliyā <kahaṁbiliyā> mul, hävänna <sävänna> mul, i[ṅ]guru, vatura dahaya näḷiyaṭa kakārā hat vēlaṭa bonu. ä[ṁ]bul arinu.*

Ends: (1 v 2-3) (Decoction for fever) *kottamalli dekalaṅdayi, välmī dekala[ṅ]dayi, ha[ṅ]dun kala[ṅ]dayi, päpiliya kala[ṅ]dayi, miris kaladhayi <kalaṅdayi>, koṭikaṃ bävila mul dekala[ṅ]dayi, irivēriya dekala[ṅ]dayi, kalā[ṅ]duru ala tun kalaṅdayi, kōmārikā ala dekalaṅdayi, mekī bēt damā vatura aṭa ekaṭa kakārā hat vēlak denu. uṇaṭa atduṭuvayi. ḷunu abul <luṇu äṁbul> arinu.*

(2) MS Sansk.c.123(R): Three different texts: I) *Sanne*, II) and III) in Sinhala.

39 folios + 3 folios at the beginning giving the table of contents, 35x5 cm, 7 to 8 lines per folio, average 70 akṣaras per line. Neatly written.

I) *Yogamuktāvalī-saṃgraha*: Complete Sanskrit text with Sinhala translation.[13]

The work is composed of 15 chapters with 322 ślokas, all numbered. Three folios, *ku*, *kṛ* and *kṝ*, are missing, leaving a lacuna from śloka no.40 (5 v 7-8) to śloka no.69 (9 r 1).

The author of the *Yogamuktāvalī* ("The pearl-string of medical compositions") was the physician DON HENDRIK SAMARATUNGA of Alutgama (Kalutara District, Western Province) (31 r 3-4), who completed the work on Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of the month of Poson (June) in the Śaka year 1777 (1855 A.D.) (31 r 6 — 31 v 3). He has written the work at the request of ḶUVIS PRĒRĀ RAṆASIṂHA ESQR. (30 v 4).[14]

Begins: (1 r 1) *namas Sarvajñāya.*

Sarvajñasya padaṃ natvā Sarvajñaṃ stutya granthyate |

lokopakṛtaye samyak Yogamuktāvalī mayā ||

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[12] The quotations given below are copied verbatim. However, when there are errors, correct readings are given as far as possible within angular brackets and additions within square brackets; orthographical errors, mostly regarding the use of the cerebral *ṇ* and *ḷ* and the sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, are rectified. See also footnote 8. Generally, the principle of least interference in the original texts has been constantly kept in mind, and thus certain Sinhala forms of words have been retained as such: e.g. *arisas <arśas>*, *kasāya <kaṣāya>*, *visa <viṣa>* etc. Certain English translations of names of diseases are borrowed from the following works: R.E. Emmerick, *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta, Vol. 2: The Tibetan version with facing English translation*, Wiesbaden 1982; Aryadasa Kumarasinghe, *Sārārtha-saṃgrahaya*, Nugegoda 1987; G.J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary, Chs. 1-10*, Leiden 1974; P.V. Sharma, *Caraka-saṃhitā*, 2 vols., Varanasi 1981,1983. These borrowings are referred to in the footnotes.

[13] Except for MS Sinh.d.5(R), which is a free translation, this and the other Sinhala translations are *sanna*, i.e., generally they give each word of the original, followed by the Sinhala rendering, with commentary where necessary.

[14] It used to be the tradition for Sinhala authors to have a sponsor; sponsors are often eulogised at the beginning of classical works.

Sinhala translation follows, (1 r 6)

prāg evākhilarogeṣu peyām icchanti paṅḍitāḥ |
tasmāt tad abhimukhyena mama karmmāpi varttate ||

Sinhala translation follows.

The topics dealt with at the beginning are: (2 r 1) *caturvidha peyā*[15], (2 r 3) *lakṣaṇam*, (2 r 6) *maṅḍana guṇa*, (2 r 7) *peyā guṇa*, (2 v 1) *yavāgu hā vilepi guṇa*, (2 v 3) *peyā sādhana <sādana> krama*. From here, the chapter names and numbers are indicated at the end of each chapter: Ch.3: *modaka kāṅḍa* (7 v 2), Ch.4: *leha kāṅḍa* (9 v 5), Ch.5: *cūrṇa kāṅḍa* (12 r 8), Ch.6: *kalka kāṅḍa* (14 r 2), Ch.7: *guṭikā kāṅḍa* (17 r 4-5), Ch.8: *taila kāṅḍa* (18 r 1), Ch.9: *ghṛta kāṅḍa* (18 v 5), Ch.10: *nasya kāṅḍa* (20 r 1-2), Ch.11: *aṅjana kāṅḍa* (21 r 7), Ch.12: *kvātha kāṅḍa* (28 v 1), Ch.13: *sveda kāṅḍa* (29 r 7), Ch.14: *dhūpa kāṅḍa* (30 r 1), Ch.15: *pralepa kāṅḍa* (30 v 3-4).

Ends: (30 v 4 — 31 v 3)

samādāya Ḷuvis-Prērā-Raṇasiṃhākhyamantri-vāk |
tat tat savaidya-tantrasthaṃ samuddhṛtya varauṣadham ||

Sinhala translation follows.

catuṣkapeyā-khalamodakaś ca lehaḥ rajo-<rajaḥ->kalka-guṭi-ghṛtaṅ ca |
tailaṅ ca nasyāṅjana-kvātha-sveda-dhūpa-pralepāni ca pāṅcadaśyam ||
sūtreṣu pro[k]ṭauṣadha-bījamuktā sad Yogamuktāvali-saṃgraho 'yam |
nivāsi grāmeṣu nūtanābhidhāne pravedi vaidyāgama-śāstra kiṅcit ||

Sinhala translation follows.

Don-Hendrik-Samaratuṅgākhyamantriṇā jñānātimātrayā |
racitaṃ saṅgrahe dvetat (sic) *bhāvitavyaṃ bhiṣaḥ varaiḥ <bhisagvaraiḥ> ||*

Sinhala translation follows.

ŚrīŚākhe sosachāyābde goheti gopatiho (not so legible) *punaḥ |*
bhāge paṅcadaśe prāpte jeṣṭhe śuklekadasy <śuklaikādaśy> api ||
hastarkṣe 'rkadine prātaḥ <prātas> tad dhorā-vṛṣabhe same |
Yogamuktāvalīnā saṅgrahe 'nena niṣṭhitam ||

Sinhala translation follows, ending with *siddhim*.

II) *Prativiṣa-vidhiya*: (31 v 3 — 35 v 4) text beginning with food items which do not agree with each other and going on to antidotes.

III) *Garbhaṇīṇṭa*: (35 v 4 — 39 v 5) text giving remedies for illnesses connected with childbirth, especially to ease delivery and to remove dead foetus.

(3) MS Sansk.c.125(R): Three different texts: I) *Vaidyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha, sanne*, II) Three Buddhist texts (*vandanā gāthā*) in Pāli, III) Fragment of the *Bhesajjamañjūsā* (Pāli).

72 folios, 32x5 cm, 7 lines to a folio, 60 akṣaras per line. Writing fairly good, big letters.

I) *Vaidyālaṅkāra-saṃgraha* ("Collection [called] Ornament of the Physicians"): Sanskrit text with Sinhala translation.

The name of the author is not given.

Begins: (1 r 1 — 1 r 4) *nama[ḥ] Śrī Ghanāya.*

Ratnatrayaṃ namaskṛtvā sarvavaidyesu-m-āgataḥ |
sāram auṣadham ādāya niṣkalaṃkaṃ śivaṃkaraṃ ||

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[15] *Peyā* is translated as *käṅda* "cunjee, porridge".

viśeṣaṃ mandabuddhīnāṃ saṅkṣepeṇa prakāśitam |
saṃskṛtena vakṣyāmi Vaidyālaṅkāra-saṃgraham ||

Sinhala translation follows, (2 r 4)

Brahmā provāca sauvargaṃ vedam āyurnnibandhanam |
śiṣyebhya[ḥ] kathayāmāsa Kaśīrājottamaḥ kramāt ||

The rest of the text deals with the following topics: (2 v 2) the qualities of a physician (*vaidyāṅga*), (3 r 2) suitable places for collecting drugs, (3 r 5) unsuitable places for collecting drugs, (3 v 1) invocatory ślokas to be remembered when collecting drugs, (3 v 3) time limit of the effectiveness of natural drugs, (4 r 3) time limit of the effectiveness of prepared drugs, (4 r 7) what particular parts, what precise quantities, of drugs to be taken, and at what particular time, when these are not specifically indicated, (4 v 5) medicinal plants whose barks should be taken, (5 r 4) medicinal plants whose creepers should be taken, (5 r 7) the best parts of certain drugs, (5 v 3) drugs whose rind should not be taken, (5 v 6) drugs which should be used raw, (6 r 4) weights and measures;[16] (6 v 1) the seven types of *kaṣāya*. From here the topics are indicated by name: (7 r 5) *kaṣāya śuṣka lakṣaṇa* (the amount of water to be added if the *kaṣāya* runs dry in the course of boiling due to a mistake); (7 v 2) *auṣadha pramāṇa* (dosage); (7 v 6) *prativāpa pramā[ṇā]diya* (the dosage of admixtures etc.), (8 v 3) *svarabheda hā kalka pramāṇa* (proportion of paste to be used in boiling oils using *svarasa*, *kaṣāya* and pure water), (9 r 2-3) *suddhajala tailayāgē tailādi niyama[ya]yi* (measures of the drugs used in preparing oil using water), (9 r 6) *kāḍi ādi niyamaya* (measures of the drugs used in the preparation of sour liquid), (9 v 2) *hara ādi pāka niyamaya* (number of days of boiling depending on the use of essences, creepers or roots), (9 v 5) *dhānyādi pāka niyama kāla* (number of days of boiling depending on the use of potherbs etc.), (10 r 2-3) *sthāpana niyamaya* (order of placing different drugs in the vessel prior to boiling), (10 r 7) *kaṣāya hā taila yojita krama* (methods of preparing oil, mixing *kaṣāya*), (10 v 7) *rātri niyamaya* (number of nights recommended for boiling drugs to extract oil, depending on the addition of particular items), (11 r 4) *prastha niyamaya* (*prastha* measures recommended for specific drugs used in the extraction of oil); (11 v 5) *dina niyamaya* (number of days recommended for boiling drugs to extract oil, depending on the liquid used), (12 r 2) *śeṣa jala sahita tailapāka kramaya* (method of boiling drugs mixed with water for the extraction of oil), (12 r 6) *nimin <minīm> kramayak* (a system of measures: *śāṇa*, *pāṇitala*, *muṣṭi*, *kuḍuba*, *prastha*, *āḍ[h]aka*, *droṇa*, *vāha*),[17] (12 v 1) *prastha bhedaya* (different *prastha*s, according to *Kāliṅga* and *Māgadha* measures); (12 v 4) *prastha pramāṇa* (specifications of *prastha*), (13 r 1) *māṃśapāka kramaya* (method of extracting animal oil through boiling); (13 r 3-4) *dravyapāka kramayak* (a method of boiling drugs for the extraction of oil), (13 r 7) *snehapāka lakṣaṇa* (different qualities of oil, depending on the degree of boiling), (13 v 3) *dagdha hā āmadoṣayi* (correct boiling point and need to avoid overboiling), (13 v 6-7) *taila lakuṇu* (signs of oil when well boiled), (14 r 3) *mṛdupāka lakṣaṇa* (quality of oil extracted by soft boiling), (14 v 7) *tailābhyaṅga niyamaya* (duration of time recommended for oil massage according to the four seasons),

[16] See p.52 below. The verse in question is:
panācca <paṇāñ ca> daśani[ṣkaṃ] syāt tai[r] dvādaśa-daśaṣṭabhiḥ |
kecit palaṃ tridhā prāhuḥ śreṣṭ[h]a-madhya-paraḥ-kramāt ||

[17] See p.52 below.

(15 r 5-6) *doṣakopa vaśayen tailābhyaṅga kāla* (suitable time for oil massage, having regard to the imbalance of the *doṣa*s), (15 v 1-2) *jalayoga krama hā tailābhyaṅga ṛtu* (methods of using water and the seasons for oil massage), (16 r 1) *tailābhyaṅgi häriya no häriya deya* (what should be avoided and what should be practised by the one who massages the head with oil), (16 r 6) *tailābhyaṅga guṇa* (good effects of oil massage), (16 v 2) *talatelehi guṇa* (good effects of gingelly oil), (17 r 6) *mītel guṇa* (good effects of the oil of *Bassia longifolia*), (17 v 1) *poltelehi guṇa* (good effects of coconut oil), (17 v 4) *abatel guṇa* (good effects of mustard oil), (17 v 7) *niṁbatel guṇa* (good effects of margosa oil); (18 r 3) *eṇḍarutel guṇa* (good effects of castor oil), (18 r 6) *rat eṇḍarutel guṇa* (good effects of red castor oil), (18 v 2) *pañcāmṛtaya* (the five delicacies), (18 v 5) *pañcagavya* (the five products of the cow), (19 r 1) *pañcagorasa* (the fivefold essence of cows), (19 r 3-4) *maha pasmul hā suḷu pasmul hā yana dasaya* (the ten items of *mahāpañcamūla* and *laghupañcamūla*), (19 v 1-2) *trijātakaya hā caturjātakaya* (the groups of three drugs and four drugs), (19 v 6) *pañcakola* (the group of five drugs), (20 r 1) *ḷunu <luṇu> aṭa vagaya* (the eight kinds of salt), (20 r 4-5) *kṣāra tuna* (the three kinds of caustics), (20 r 8) *tipala* (the three kinds of fruits), (20 v 2) *tikuḷaṭa nam hā dravya* (the synonyms of *trikaṭu* and the drugs meant by it), (20 v 5) *kāḍiyayi* (sour liquid).

Ends: (21 r 1-2)

vidyārtthināṃ pravṛddhyārtthaṃ nānāgrantha[ān] samīkṣya ca |
girīndusammitaḥ śloko Vaidyālaṃkāra-saṃgrahaḥ |
kṛto 'pi vaidyaśāstriṇām saṃśayasthānabodhanaḥ ||

Sinhala translation follows, ending with *nimi* "end".

Ed. Robert Batuvantudawe, Colombo 1950.

III) Fragment of the *Bhesajjamañjūsā*: Pāli.

Begins: (4 r 1)

... rasaraṅjakaṃ rasaraṅjanā |
buddhimedhābhimānādi vasen icchitasādhanā ||
sādhakaṃ hadayaṭṭhāyi locakaṃ locane ṭhitaṃ |
rūpālocanahetutthā<hetuttā> tacaṭṭhaṃ bhājakaṃ siyā ||

(12 v 2) First chapter, *upaññāsavidhi-paddhati*, ends, but chapter ending is not indicated, (21 r 2) *iti dabbādi-saṃgaho dutiyo*, (23 r 6) *sadācārapaddhati-saṅgaho tatiyo*, (24 v 7) *iti āgāmaroga-paddhati-saṃgaho catuttho*, (34 r 4-5) *annabyaṅjana-paddhati-saṅgaho paṅcamo*, (40 r 1-2) *iti davadabba-paddhati-saṃgaho chaṭṭho*, (41 v 2) *iti savisāhāra-paddhati-saṅgaho sattamo ...*

Ends: (43 v 6-7)

godhāmūlaṅ ca rūrūje maricaṃ kadalīphale |
medādhikesu maṃsesu madanassa [si]p[h]āhitā |
kakālasassa maṃsesu siggumūlaṃ pasaṃsitaṃ ||
navakambhakra <navakumbhaka> pālaṭṭha kaṅjikā devadālije ...

Ed. K.D. Kulatilaka, Nugegoda 1962; Vilēgoḍa Dharmakīrti Śrī Dharmānanda, Elpitiya 1967.

(4) MS. Sansk.c.134(R): Two Sanskrit medical texts, with occasional Sinhala translation: I) *Rogāriṣṭaya*, II) *Varavākyam* followed by the Pāli text *Vammikasutta*.

Incomplete, several folios missing in the body of the manuscript. 20 folios, 30.5x4 cm, 6 to 8 lines per folio, 60 akṣaras per line. Writing is fairly good, letters quite big. The usual *sva* or *svasti* at the beginning is missing.

I) *Rogāriṣṭaya*: Diagnosis of diseases.[18]

Begins: (1 r 1-2) *nama[ḥ] Śrī Ghanāya.*

nidhānaṃ <nidānaṃ> pūrvarūpāṇi rūpāṇ[y] upaśayas tathā |

samprāptiṃ paṅcadhās sarve rogān uktānujāyate (sic) ||[19]

Sinhala translation follows, (2 r 1-2)

dūrāsanna-nidhānāni<-nidānāni> dvivid[h]an taṃ pravarkṣute <pravakṣyate> |

pruthuvī-<pṛthivī->patite bījaṃ vṛṣṭiṃ ropaṇaye tathā ||

The following śloka justifies the title of the work: (4 v 3-4)

vaidyaśāstre phalaṃ sarvam āyu[r]jñāne pratiṣṭ[h]itaṃ |

tato vaidyena karttavyam ariṣṭajñāne mahādharo <mahādaro> ||

Ends: (5 v 2)

nidhāne <nidāne> balavān aṣṭimiñjāśrite dīrggha-kālayo |

pralāpa-bhrama-śop[h]aś ca śvāsa-kāsa<-kāsau> vikṣitā <ca kṣīṇatā> ||

hrad-<hṛd->armma-rujā-mandāgniḥ raktākṣi vākasaṃ ito |

cetelakṣaṇa-saṃyuktaṃ jvarātura-matin<-mṛtiṃ> vadet ||

Sinhala translation follows (lacuna after 5 v 6), (6 r 1)

... gatan tathā |

hatā pittā gatā nāḍī piyaprajñāpayoni (sic) *ca ||*

mandā sūkṣma-gatā nāḍī sā nāḍī sannipātike |

nāḍīṃ āharukā tulyaṃ smruti ti dinatrayaṃ (sic) ||

rājahaṃsa-mayūrānaṃ pārāpata-<pārāvata->payo-gatiḥ |

kukkuṭasya gatiṃ sveta tathā nīgata siṃhari (sic) ||

Rogāriṣṭa-postakaṃ<-pustakaṃ> lekhanaṃ kṛtvā niṭṭhitam. nimi.

II) *Varavākyam.*

Begins: (6 r 2-3)

karasthāṅguṣṭ[h]amūle yā dhamanī jīvasākṣiṇī |

taccesṭayā sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ <duḥkhaṃ> jñeyaṃ kāyasya paṅḍitaiḥ ||[20]

Sinhala translation follows.

Then, medicinal recipes are given for the following diseases: (7 r 3) consumption (*kṣayaroga*), (7 v 1) menstrual flow (*mālē = pradara*), (8 r 7) skin diseases (*kuṣṭ[h]a*), (9 r 1) urinary affliction (*prameha*), (9 v 3) rheumatism[21] (*vātaśronita <vātaśoṇita> = vātarakta*), (10 v 1) tumour (*gaḍapola = gaṇḍaśūla*), (11 r 1) ulcers (*vraṇaroga*), (11 v 1)

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[18] Original meaning: "Symptoms of incurable diseases". Cf. the following strophe cited in Rājā Rādhā Kānta Deva's *Śabdakalpadruma*, Varanasi 1961:

rogiṇo maraṇaṃ yasmād avaśyambhāvi lakṣyate |

tallakṣaṇam ariṣtaṃ syād riṣtam apyabhidhīyate || (*Bhāvaprakāśa*, I.1.9; II.1.70)

See also *Ariṣṭasatakaya hevat Rogaviniścaya (Arishta Satakaya or A Treatise on the Knowledge of Disease)*, Colombo 1866.

[19] Cf. *Mādhavanidāna*, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1893, pp.4-5.

[20] See *Śārṅgadhara-saṃhitā*, ed. Paraśurāma Śāstrī, Bombay 1931, I.3.1.

[21] See footnote 29.

snake poison (*sarpaviṣa*), (12 r 3) fever (*jvara*), (15 r 7) methods of purifying poisonous drugs (*śuddhavidhi*): *rasa* = mercury, *vaccnāvi* = Indian aconite, *gandhaka* = sulphur, *hiriyal* = *haritāla* = arsenic.

Ends: (15 v 2 — 15 v 5)

kālakaṃ <tālakaṃ> kanasaṃ tajjhā kūṣmāṅḍe triphalodake |
dolāyantreṇa yāmayikaṃ pācyaṃ śuddhanibhā tathā ||
gokṣīre taṅḍulīpatrasvarase 'pi punaḥ punaḥ |
nikṣiptaṃ paṅcavāreṇa śuddham āsukha-silāhvayam ||[22]
niṭṭhitam. siddhir astu. Varavākyam samāptam.

(5) MS Sansk.c.135(R): Two Sanskrit texts with Sinhala translation.

Incomplete, beginning and end lacking. 26 folios, 30.5x4 cm, 6 to 9 lines per folio, 60 akṣaras per line. Writing good, big letters.

I) Begins: (1 r 1) (*ariṣṭa lakṣaṇa*, signs of patients who are on the verge of death) *jvaro 'nāha-<jvarānāha->śūla-hikkā-charddi-gulmāturo mṛtiḥ*, Sinhala translation follows, (1 r 2) *raktanakhyākṣi-<rakta-nakhākṣi->driṣṭiṅ ca pāṅḍurogi mṛtiṃ vadet*, Sinhala translation follows.

Ends: (8 v 2) (Examination of pulse)

ādau ca vahate pittaṃ madhye selesmā <śleṣmā> prakīrttitaḥ |
ante prabhañjanaḥ proktaḥ tridhā nāḍīparīkṣaṇam ||

Sinhala translation follows (8 v 4). *mesē nāḍīparīkṣānam yana metun ākārayen, nāḍīparīkṣānaṃ, nāḍiṃgē parīkṣāva, tidhā, tun prakāra vannēyi. siddhir astu. 1859.*

II) Immediately after the end of text (I): (8 v 5) remedies (only Sanskrit ślokas without the Sinhala translation) are given for the following diseases: diseases of the head (*śiroroga*), (9 v 1) diseases of the eyes (*akṣiroga*), (10 v 7) diseases of the ear (*karṇaroga*), (11 r 6) diseases of the nose (*nāsāroga*), (11 v 3) diseases of the mouth (*mukharoga*), (13 r 2) change of voice (*svarabhedaya*), (13 v 7) tonics (*rasāyana*), (14 r 6) viriligenics (*vājīkaraṇa*), (14 v 2) hiccup (*ikkāva*), (15 r 3) cough (*kāsaya*), (15 v 1) phlegm (*śleṣmāva*), (15 v 5) distaste for food (*aruciya*), (16 r 5-6) thirst (*pipāsaya*), (16 v 1) heart diseases (*hṛdroga*), (16 v 2) bile (*pita*), (16 v 7) internal haemorrhage[23] (*ratpita*), (17 r 1) intestinal inertia[24] (*viśūciya*), (17 r 8) diarrhoea (*atisāraya*), (18 r 3) vitiation of the appetite-creating organ, *grahaṇī* (*grahaṇiya*), (18 v 7) burning sensation in urination

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[22] Cf. the following two quotations on (*haritāla-*) *tālakaśuddhi*:

tālakaṃ kanaśaḥ kṛtvā sacūrṇaṃ kāñjike kṣipet |
dolāyantreṇa yāmaikaṃ tataḥ kūṣmāṇḍajair dravaiḥ ||
tilataile paced yāmaṃ yāmaṃ ca triphalājalaiḥ |
evaṃ yantre caturyāmaṃ pācyaṃ śuddhyati tālakam ||

Śārṅgadhara-saṃhitā, II.11.73-75,

tālakaṃ kaṇaśaḥ kṛtvā daśāṃśena ca ṭaṅkaṇam |
jambīrotthadravaiḥ kṣālyaṃ kāñjikaiḥ kṣālayet tataḥ ||
vastre caturguṇe baddhvā dolāyantre dinaṃ pacet |
sacūrṇenāranālena dinaṃ kuṣmāṇḍaje rase |
svedyaṃ vā śālmalītoyais tālakaṃ śuddhim āpnuyāt ||

Rasaratnasamuccaya, II.76-77.

[23] See footnote 26 below.

[24] Meulenbeld's translation.

(*mūtradāhaya*), (19 v 2) piles (*arśonvyādhi*), (20 r 2) pallor caused by bile (*pittapāṅḍuva*), (20 v 2) jaundice (*kāmilārogaya*), (21 r 5) swelling (*śophaya*), (22 r 6) difficulty in evacuation (*udāvarttaya*), (23 r 5) tumour (*vidrad[h]iya*), (23 v 1) abdominal tumour (*gulmaya*), (25 r 3) wind disease (*vāyuva*), (25 v 2) hernia[25] (*antravṛddhiya*), (25 v 7) wind disease (*vātaya*).

Ends: (26 v 7-9):

harītakī-sahaśraṅ ca rasaṃ khāni (sic) *pacet samam* |
tailena guḍa-daddyān (sic) *tat[h]aiva madhusarppinī* ||
etat paṅcāmṛtan nāma phāṇitaṃ kuṣṭ[h]anāśanam |
aṣṭodarāni kāsaṅ ca nāśayet timirāṇi ca ||
jātiphala-trikaṭukam triphalāya (sic) *trijātakam* |
kharjjūra-drākṣa-rujavāruṇa-candanāni ||
tarkkola-dhānya-madhu-jīraka aśvagandhā |
cūrṇṇam samam samasitaṃ gulikam prakuryāt ||
etena kakṣa sakalajvara-pitta-svāsa-kāsa-haraṃ ... .

(6) MS Sinh.d.3(R): Four different texts in Sinhala, the third mostly *mantras*.

75 folios, 24.5x5.5 cm, 8 to 11 lines, average 68 akṣaras per line. Writing in texts I and II good, neat, well spaced; from folio 49 v, line 2, cursive, rapid, crowded. Text no.I is written on 12.5.1863.

I) Begins: (1 r 1-2) *namo Buddhāya.* (Three kinds of headache due to wind, bile and phlegm) *isē rogayaṭa kiyanu läbē. isa idima <idimī> rujā adhika va vēdanā ät nam vāyuven vū isarujāvaya, isa uṇu va dävīm äti va äs näsā damin rujā balavat va nät <ät> nam pitin upan isarujāvaya, isa bara va sihil va is muduna da äsa da ridun äti va rujā ät nam śleṣmāven upan isarujāvaya.*

Remedies are given for the following diseases: (2 r 4) diseases of the eyes (*äsroga*), (3 r 7) diseases of the ear (*kaṇē roga*), (3 v 3) diseases of the nose (*näsāroga*), (4 r 7) diseases of the mouth (*kaṭē roga*), (4 v 8) diseases of the throat (*ugurē roga*), (5 r 4-5) heart diseases (*layē roga*), (6 r 3) fever (*uṇaroga*), (7 r 8) diarrhoea (*atīsāraya*), (8 v 7) internal haemorrhage[26] (*ratpita*), (9 r 5) consumption (*kṣayarogaya*), (10 r 1-2) madness (*pissuva*), (10 v 5) liquor disease[27] (*madātyaya*), (11 r 2) hiccup (*ikkāva*), (11 r 8) cough (*kässa*), (12 r 3) change of voice (*svarabhedaya*), (12 v 5) phlegm (*śleṣmaroga*), (13 r 2) vomiting (*vamanaya*), (14 r 2) thirst (*diyapipāsaya*), (14 r 8) distaste for food (*aruciya*), (15 r 1) loss of appetite (*baḍagini näti ayaṭa*), (15 v 1) tumour (*vidradhiya*), (17 r 7) skin disease (*kuṣṭharogaya*), (18 v 6) erysipelas (*visarpa*), (19 v 8) abdominal tumour (*gulmarogaya*), (21 v 8) generalised abdominal enlargement[28] (*udararogaya*), (23 v 6)

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[25] Kumarasinghe's translation.

[26] Sharma's translation. Sinhala commentary: Bleeding from the eyes, the ears, the nose, the faecal and urinary outlets is called *raktapitta*.

[27] Emmerick's translation. Sinhala commentary: Due to excessive intake of liquor, the patient cannot speak, froths phlegm from the mouth and the nose; the mouth remains closed and sagging.

[28] Kumarasinghe's translation. Sinhala commentary: Firstly, loss of strength, loss of the colour of the body, disappearance of the folds of the belly, pain in the bladder, gradual swelling of the legs, gradual enlargement of the abdomen, slimming of the belly above the navel - these are the symptoms of

urinary affection (*prameha*), (25 r 3) difficulty in urination (*mūtrakṛcchrāva*), (26 r 2) piles (*arisas, mūlavyādhiya*), (27 v 2) wind diseases (*vātarogaya*), (28 v 7-8) pallor caused by bile (*pittapāṅḍuva*), (29 v 2) jaundice (*seṅgamālaya*), (29 v 7-8) blood diseases (*śronītaya <śoṇitaya>*), (30 v 7) rheumatism[29] (*vātaraktaya*) , (31 v 2) swelling (*idimuma*), (32 v 5) elephantiasis (*baravārogaya*), (33 v 1) worms in faeces and urine (*mala mūtra demārgayen yana paṇurogaya*), (33 v 7) ulcers (*vaṇaroga*), (35 r 1) fractures (*äṅgē äṭasandi biṅdunāṭa*), (36 r 2) remedies for the diseases of expectant mothers (*baḍadaru ayaṭa*), (37 r 8) remedies for infantile diseases (*bāla ḷamayingē rogayaṭa*), (37 v 3-4) disorders caused by food and drink (*āhārapānayen vū viruddhayaṭa*), (38 r 1) antidotes (*vasajāti kāvāṭa*), (38 r 5-6) snakebite (*sarpayo daṣṭa kaḷa visaṭa*), (39 r 2) diseases of the feet (*payē rogayaṭa*), (39 r 7) tonics (*äṅga bala kirīmaṭa*)[30], (39 v 5) purgatives (*virecana kirīmaṭa*), (40 v 8) remedies for worms gnawing the teeth (wasting away of the teeth) (*dat paṇuvan kana rogayaṭa*), (41 v 1) remedies for worms in the eyes (wasting away of the eyelids) (*äsē <äsa> paṇuvo kana rogayaṭa*), (41 v 3) remedies for worms gnawing the nails (wasting away of the nails) (*niyapirittā kana rogayaṭa*), (42 r 7) loss of virility (*naṣṭakāmaya*).

Ends: (42 r 8 — 42 v 3) (Formulary for the restoration of virility) *enṣāl <ensāl>, galmada, välmī, tippili, valaṅgasāl, sādikkā, karābu, vasivāsi <vasāvāsi>, koṭṭan, ati-uḍayan, keliṅda äṭa, iṅgini äṭa, lotsuṁbuḷu, deduru, nelli, polkuḍupalā mul, raṇavarā äṭa, muḍamahana, kalāṅduru ala, vaṅduru mā äṭa, bintal ala, eḷa oliṅda äṭa, iṁbul lāṭu, mē häma tun tun kalaṅda gena viyalā cūrṇṇa kara, vēlaṭa tun kalaṅda bägin sīni samaga sad davasak devē[laṭa] kamin ḷunu <luṇu> äṁbul arinu. muvamas telimas maḍumas patya vargga vē. siddhim. varusa 18 5/12 63 dina.*

II) Begins: (43 r 1-2) *namo Buddhāya.* (Decoction for fever, thirst and vomiting) *jvarayaṭa kiyanu. kalāṅduru ala, haṅdun, irivēriya, päpiliya, sävänna, siṅguru, mē häma kakāla kasāya denu. tṛṣṇā, charddi, taruṇa jvara guṇa vē.*

Remedies for fever (*jvara*) continue up to folio 47 v 1, after which remedies are given for the following diseases: (47 v 1-2) diarrhoea (*atīsāra*), (48 r 7) indigestion (*ajīrṇaya*), (49 v 9) goose flesh (*sīgatuva*), (50 r 1) diarrhoea with mucus (*sīdan kaḍuttuva*), (50 r 3) diseases of the mouth (*mukharoga*), (50 r 7) poisoning caused by eating fruits of the dog's bane (*Gerbera manghas Linn.*) (*kaduru visaṭa*), (50 r 9) stomach ache with wind (*baḍa vāyurujāva*), (50 v 1) swelling (*idimuma*), (50 v 4) childrens' fever (*bālayinnē uṇaṭa*), (50 v 7) bile (*pita*), (50 v 7-8) acute stomach ache (*itā asīru baḍarujāvaṭa*), (51 r 1) piles (*arisas*), (51 r 6) fever, cough, diarrhoea ... of expectant mothers (*garbhaṇīngē uṇa, käsi, baḍayanavāṭa ...*), (51 v 9) infants' diarrhoea (*bāla daruvannē baḍa yanavāṭa*), (52 r 1) internal haemorrhage[31] (*ratpita*), (52 r 6) diarrrhoea (*atīsāraya*), (52 v 7) swelling (*idimuma*), (52 v 9) for all types of poison (*siyalu visaṭa*), (53 r 11) thirst, burning fever, distaste for food, vomiting (*pipāsa, jvaradāha, aruci, vamana*), (53 r 12)

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udararōgaya.

[29] Emmerick's translation. Sinhala commentary: The wind becoming strong, along with blood, creates a burning sensation in hands and feet; there is swelling of the legs and [the patient] becomes crippled. This is called *vātarakta*. In some people, there is also swelling of the fingers.

[30] Literally: to invigorate the body.

[31] See footnote 26.

film in the eye (*paṭala*), (54 r 1) headache at sunrise (*iruvā rujāvaṭa*); (54 r 3) cough (*kässa*), (54 r 4-5) childrens' fever, diarrhoea (*bālayinnē jvarayaṭa, ḷamayinnē baḍin yanavāṭa*); (58 r 5) remedies for expectant mothers (*garbhaṇīnṭa behet*); (58 v 8) snake poison (*sarpavisa*); (58 v 10) cuts, injuries, ulcers (*käpun, keṭun, vaṇa*), (59 v 2) eye diseases: night blindness, pain in the eye, tearing etc. (*rā̈kana, äsa käkkun, kaňdulu* etc.), (60 r 5) phlegm (*śleṣma roga*), internal haemorrhage[32] (*ratpita*).

Ends: (60 v 8-10) (Remedies for blood disorders) *śroṇitayaṭa sātāvāriya, beli, midi, bävila, dēvadāru, iňguru, ikiri, kiňdi, gokaṭu, eňḍaru mē kasāya denu. iňguru hatara kalaňdayi, vēlā mul aṭa kalaňdayi, aba kalaňdayi mekī dē cūrṇṇa kara muṭṭiyaka kaḍa bäňda bēt ehi lā suduḷūnu <sudulūṇu>, palmānikkan devagē ehi uḍin tibā vasā ḷunu <lūṇu> tämbunu viṭa gena aṁbarā uṇu pänin valaňdanu. śroṇita nasā. siddhir astu. śubham astu. ārogyam astu.*

III) Begins: (61 r 1) (Remedies for scrotal enlargement) *aňḍavāyuvaṭa behet. penarakolat dānaňgalā hāḷut suduḷunut <sudulūṇut> uḷuvā hālut yana devage aran poṭṭaniyeka bäňda käňdaṭa damā käňdi <käňda> häňdi gagā penarakola poḍi velā käňdaṭa diya venakan käňda häňdi gagā pisanu. penarakolat dānaňgalā hāḷut ekaṭa misakuna ma <miśra unāma> käňda bālā sudulūṇut uḷuvā hāḷut damāpu poṭṭaniya aran käňdaṭa mirikā roḍu härа damanu. issarō ma käňda bona dāṭa eňḍaru tel belikaṭuven dekahamārak pamaṇa vakkara käňda bonu.*

Remedies are given for the following maladies:[33] (61 v 2) when pricked by thorns (*kaṭu änunāṭa*), (61 v 6) *mantra* for vomiting (*vamaneṭa*),[34] (63 r 8) *mantra* for headache at sunrise (*iruvāradēṭa*), (63 r 11) *mantra*s for snakebite (*sarpavisaṭa*), (64 r 9) *mantra*s for stomach ache (*baḍē rujāvaṭa*), (64 v 2) *mantra*s for vomiting (*vamaneṭa*), (64 v 7) *mantra* for removing dirt from the eye (*äsē van kunu pisa damanu*); *mantra* to remove thorns (*kaṭu änunāṭa*); (65 r 1-2) *mantra* for indigestion (*ajīrṇayaṭa*); (66 r 7 onwards) *mantra*s for various purposes: to obtain gifts, to realise one's desires, to achieve success, to avoid falling victim to black magic etc.

Ends: (74 v 8) (Two *mantra*s, one for encasing amulets, the other for tying encased amulets on patients) *ōnnamo dantrābhra banda dantakaṭṭāgra banda kesāgra banda kesamūlāgra banda sakvala banda sakvalaguhāraga <sakvalagalāgra ?> banda ākāsa banda pātāla banda etaṃ cakravāṭiyā <cakravāṭaya> banda b[h]ūta banda abhūta banda pilli banda piśāca banda band esvāhaḥ. yantra asurana mantrayayi. ōnnamo vajra ājñāya triṣṭaṃ ōṃ hriṃ hriṃ ṭaṃ ṭaṃ ovugrayan* (sic) *muni īśvara banda band esvāhaḥ. yantra bandina mantrayayi. ōṃ arnnavarnna siddha buddhi namaḥ siddha siddhi ehi esvāhaḥ. mē dähänē gävā dumma gasa <häva dummala gasā?> būsandu* (sic). *siddhir astu.*

IV) Short text beginning *namo Buddhāya* and giving four *mantra*s for toothache. This text is concluded with the final ending: *siddhir astu. śubham astu. ārogyam astu. jayo 'stu. kē pē Dharmmadarṣi yatiňdugē pota.*

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[32] See footnote 26.

[33] This section of the present manuscript is such a medley of recipes and *mantra*s that all the diseases are not cited in the notice.

[34] See above p.40.

(7) MS Sinh.d.5(R): *Tailavidhiya*: Sinhala translation of a Sanskrit text on the preparation of medicinal oils; does not give the original text as in the case of a *sanne*.[35]

31 folios, 28.5x4.5 cm, 6 lines per folio, 60 akṣaras per line. Four folios, *khḷ*, *khḹ*, *kho* and *khau* are missing. Writing is good, big letters.

Begins: (1 r 1-3) *nama[ḥ] Śrī Ghanāya. yanu heyin* (composition of the group of drugs beginning with tick trefoil[36] and diseases for which it is good) *sthirādi gaṇaya nam asvänna, suḷu buruda, eṅḍaru, gaskäliya, godiṭu, goyaṭu, sātāvāriya, pusvänna, kiribadu ala, malāvänna, heḷa baṭu, väl baṭu, ät śaḍiya, suḷu heḷaḍiya, maha heḷaḍiya, äviriya, mañgul kuṁburuvänna, yana mē sthirādi gaṇaya śop[h]a, gulma, vāta, svāsa, kāsa, pitta metek deyaṭa hitayi.*

Other groups of drugs (*gaṇa*) used for the preparation of oils follow, along with the diseases for which they are used: (1 v 1) *elādi gaṇaya*; (1 v 3) *varaṇādi gaṇaya*, (1 v 5) *losaṁdhi <lodhrādi* or *rodhrādi> gaṇaya*, (2 r 1) *viratārādi <vīratarvādi> gaṇaya*, (2 r 3) *muṣkakādi gaṇaya*, (2 r 4) *sālā <sālasārādi> gaṇaya*, (2 r 6) *uppalādi <utpalādi> gaṇaya*, (2 r 7) *trappādi <traptādi> gaṇaya*, (2 v 1) *surasādi gaṇaya*, (2 v 5) *mustā[di] gaṇaya*, (2 v 7) *paṭolādi gaṇaya*, (3 r 2) *galovādi <galocādi* or *guḍucyādi> gaṇaya*, (3 r 3) *kākokhyādi <kakolyādi> gaṇaya*, (3 r 5) *sāridi <sārivādi> gaṇaya*, (3 r 6) *bṛhattyādi gaṇaya*, (3 v 1) *surasādi gaṇaya*, (3 v 2) *candanādi gaṇaya*, (3 v 3) *vacādi gaṇaya*, (3 v 4) *haridrādi gaṇaya*, (3 v 5) *bilvādi pasmul <pañcamūla>*, (3 v 7) *kaṭupasmul*, (3 v 8) *taṇapasmul*, (4 r 1) *paskola <pañcakola>*,

(4 r 2) Various instructions for the preparation of oils,

(5 v 2) System of weights and measures (see p.52 below).

(6 v 3) Drugs for the preparation of various oils (*taila varggaval kiyanu läbē*) and maladies for which they are used: (6 v 7) *pit-tailaya*, (7 v 1) *sannipāta-tailaya 1*, (7 v 4) *sannipāta-tailaya 2*, (8 r 2) *maṅgavātamūrtta-tailaya*, (8 v 1) *kukṣirogayaṭa tailaya* (oil for malady of the belly), (8 v 3) *idimun tela* (oil for swelling), (9 v 2) *mahākētakī-tailaya*, (10 r 2) *kētakī-tailaya*, (10 v 1) *sarasvatī-tailaya*, (10 v 7) *divya-tailaya*, (11 v 6) *brahma-sarasvatī-tailaya*, (13 r 4) *śrī rājabrahma-tailayayi*, (13 v 4) *mahāvajra-tailaya*, (14 r 2) *kumāra-tailaya*, (15 r 1) *māvilaṅgan-tailaya*, (15 r 6) *sannirāja-tailaya*, (15 v 6) *sannivināsa-tailaya*, (16 v 3) *bālakoraṅḍa-tailaya*, (16 v 7) *mahā kora-tailaya*, (17 v 1) *kuḍā nārāyaṇa tailaya*, (17 v 6) *pit-tailaya*, (18 v 2) *candanādi tailaya*, (18 v 6) *mahā uśīrādi tailaya*, (19 r 5) *mahā nālikera-tailaya*, (19 v 3) *kuḍā nālikera tailaya*, (20 r 1) *jaṁbīrādi tailaya*, (20 r 5) *bhṛṅgāmala-tailaya*, (20 v 2) *vāta-pitta-tailaya*, (20 v 6) *pit-tailaya*, (21 r 5) *vajjra-tailaya*, (21 v 3) *vajjragandha-tailaya*, (22 v 1) *bālādi-tailaya*, (23 r 1) *siddhārtha-tailaya*, (23 r 1) *indravalli-tailaya*, whose composition ends with the indication *lasu<laghu>-eraṅḍa-tailayayi*, (23 v 4) *bālakoraṅḍa-tailaya*, (24 r 2) *amṛtāmala-tailaya*, (24 r 6) *sitajvara-tailaya*, (24 v 4) *kētakī-tailaya*, (26 v 3) *nārāyaṇa-tailaya*, (27 r 3) *guruḷurāja-tailaya*, (27 v 2) *viṣṇurājakumāra-tailaya*, (28 r 1) *[navapaṭala-tailaya]*, (28 v 1) *candrakānti-tailaya*, (29 r 1) *kētakī-tailaya*, (29 v 3) *eraṅḍa-tailaya*.

Ends: (30 r 2) (Formulary for burning sensation in the head, in the eyes, for the growth of hair, heat due to bile, burning sensation of the chest, for all diseases of the eyes and the head, for physical vigour, for urinary affliction) ... *talatel dekayi, gitel dekayi,*

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[35] See on this term footnote 13.

[36] Tick trefoil = *sthirā*, Emmerick's translation.

vēli kaha, mēvā pinidiya bāgayayi mīṭa sarakku, ha[ṅ]duṃ, i[ṅ]gini äṭa, välmī, dēvadāra, kiribadu ala, nāmal, enṣāl <ensāl>, araḷu, buḷu, nelli trivargga[ya], sudu duru, kuru[ṅ]du potu, bävila mul, mēvā tuṃ tuṃ kalaṃ gena a[ṁ]barā yodā ma[ṅ]daginnē tuṃ davasak gini kara kalka lanu padamaṭa diyaṭa bā perā tabā siddhiyogayen tel gānu. aṭa davasakaṭa varak isa sōdanu. miṃ guṇa isē ginihaṃ dāya da äs dāya da isakē väḍīmaṭa da pit ginihamaṭa da läpätta danavāṭa da äsē isē siyalu ma rōgayan sansiṅdīmaṭa kaya bala vīmaṭa da siyalu ma pramehayaṭa da ... yahapati. utuṃ agasti munīhu visiṃ kiyana lada sirorāja-tailayayi. adduṭuvayi. .

The following manuscripts have been bought from Lieutenant J. Merriman on 18th September 1890: MS Sansk.c.123(R), MS Sansk.c.125(R), MS Sansk.c.134(R), MS Sansk. c.135(R). The date of acquisition of the following manuscripts is given simply as 1890: MS Sinh.d.3(R), MS Sinh.d.5(R).

The opening formulas *namas Sarvajñāya*, *namaḥ Śrī Ghanāya*, *namo Buddhāya* confirm the Buddhist faith of the authors. Manuscripts which contain both Āyurvedic and Buddhist texts (e.g. MS Sansk.c.134(R)) are further proof of the development of Āyurveda in Buddhist circles in Sri Lanka.

Out of the seven manuscripts (fifteen different texts) which are of a purely medical nature, the *Yogamuktāvalī* and the *Vaidyālaṅkāra* are contributions, though modest, of Sinhala Āyurvedic physicians to Sanskrit medical literature. The *Varavākyam* is the Sinhala version of a Siddha medical text; the title *Vākiyam* is common to several treatises attributed to Machamuni, Sattaimuni, Agathiar, Konganar, Sundaranandhar and Sudhar.[37] The epithet *vara* (best, eminent) has been added sometimes to medical works (cf. *Varayogasāraya*, *Varasārasaṅgraha*). The other titles of this collection are Sinhala translations of Sanskrit works, except for text III of MS Sinh.d.3(R), which seems to consist of recipes and *mantra*s noted down at random from various sources.

The *Vaidyālaṅkāra*, apart from being a technical manual for Āyurvedic physicians, shows the importance of oil massage (*tailābhyaṅga*) in Sri Lankan traditional therapeutics.

The *Tailavidhiya* also indicates the wide use of medicinal oils for the treatment of various diseases.

Two pieces of information found respectively in the *Vaidyālaṅkāra* and the *Tailavidhiya* point to the spiritual dimension of the practice of Āyurveda, in conformity with the conception of the interaction between the macrocosm and the microcosm. The first piece of information is the invocation to Balabhadra, Brahman, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara when collecting drugs (p.43 above), and the second, the application of oil at the auspicious moment *siddhiyoga*, when the planets are in a favourable position vis-à-vis the individual.[38]

Several formularies are attributed to various Āyurvedic celebrities in the *Tailavidhi* (*Bālakoraṅḍa-taila*: Agasti 16 v 2-3, *Candanādi-taila*: Sarasvatī 18 v 2, *Nārāyaṇa-taila*:

[37] See *Siddha medical manuscripts in Tamil*, ed. V.R. Madhavan, Madras 1984. The personal names have been given as found in this work.

[38] The physicians also used to experience positive thoughts with the aid of such invocations and a type of *mantra* known as *dähäna* in Sinhala, to increase the effectiveness of their treatment. This aspect of Āyurvedic medicine will be dealt with in a subsequent paper.

Jīvaka 26 v 3, *Candrakānti-taila*: Dhanvantari 28 v 1). The recipe of the *Brahmasarasvatī-taila* is said to have been written on the underside of a stone boat by DEVUNDARA RĀJAGURU MUDIYANSĒ RĀLAHĀMI[39].

It would be interesting to compare the *Yogamuktāvalī* and the *Vaidyālaṅkāra* with the identical titles cited in Aufrecht's *Catalogus catalogorum* (Pts. 1, 2 and 3, 1891, 1896, 1903).

The purely medical manuscripts described in this paper contain material which is complementary to that found in Indian treatises. The system of weights and measures given in the *Vaidyālaṅkāra* and the *Tailavidhiya* may be cited as an example. The former text indicates that *śāṇa*, *pāṇitala*, *muṣṭi*, *kuḍuba*, *prastha*, *āḍhaka*, *droṇa* and *vāha* are each four times the value of the preceding one (Śloka no. 34).[40] The *Tailavidhiya* gives a system of weights and measures based on the *Māgadha-māna*[41] (5 v 2-6):

3	*tala*	= 1	*hamu*
3	*hamu*	= 1	*viyaṭa*
8	*viyaṭa*	= 1	*madaṭa*
20	*madaṭa*	= 1	*kalañda*
3	*kalañda*	= 1	*huna*
2	*huna*	= 1	*palārdha*
2	*palārdha*	= 1	*palama*
2	*palama*	= 1	*kuḷudulla*
2	*kuḷudulla*	= 1	*pata*
4	*pata*	= 1	*naḍuba*
4	*naḍuba*	= 1	*lāsa*
4	*lāsa*	= 1	*droṇi*
2	*droṇi*	= 1	*śūrpa*
10	(?) *śūrpa*	= 1	*bhātara <bhāra ?>*
16	*bhātara*	= 1	*vāha.*

The same text gives the synonyms for the following units of measures (5 v 6 — 6 r 5):

1	*huna*	*biḷālapāda, seka, kabalagraha <kavalagraha>, svarṇṇa, tinduka, pīcuka <picuka>, karīsa, pāṇitala*
2	*huna*	*tālārka, śukti, aṣṭamika*
1	*palama*	*palamuṣṭamika <muṣṭi>, prakava <prakuñca>, bilva, duvadasikā <ṣoḍaśikā>*
2	*palama*	*praśśuta <prasṛta>, aṣṭamika, kuḷudulla*
4	*palama*	*kuḍaba <kuḍava>, mākikka <mānika>, añjali, yatapraṭha* (sic) *<prastha ?>*
16	*palama*	*prastha, näḷi, aḍmanā*
64	*palama*	*āḍ[h]aka, prastra <pātra ?>, kanasa, prastāṣṭaka, lahassa*
250 <256>	*palama*	*droṇa, 4 lāssa, tiṁba*
512	*palama*	*kuṁba, sarppa <śūrpa>*
1024	*palama*	*ghoni <goṇī>, homāri, bhātara.*

[39] *Rālahāmi* is the title of a village headman; Devundara is a town in the southern point of Sri Lanka.

[40] Cf. *Śārṅgadhara-saṃhitā*, I.1.32cd-33ab.

[41] The *Māgadha-māna* has been more popular in Sri Lanka than the *Kāliṅga-māna*. Cf.
mānaṃ ca dvividhaṃ prasthaṃ kāliṅgaṃ māgadhaṃ tathā |
kāliṅgān māgadhaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ evaṃ mānavidhau kṛtaḥ ||
Vaidyālaṅkāra, v.35. Cf. *Caraka-saṃhitā*, Ka.12.105; *Śārṅgadhara-saṃhitā*, I.1.43.

In the above table, *huna* is equivalent to *karṣa* of the Indian system, *kuḷudulla* is equivalent to *prasṛta* or *aṣṭamāna*. The Sri Lankan physicians have naturally preferred grains which were readily available in their own country, such as grains of paddy (*viyaṭa* = *vī äṭa*), to those like barley (*yava*) in the Indian system.

The oyster-shell has been used as a liquid measure.[42]

The codices described above are thus useful not only to physicians but also to anthropologists, ethno-botanists, pharmacologists, historians of medicine and ethno-linguists.[43]

I am grateful to Mr A.D.S. Roberts, the Keeper of Oriental Books of the Bodleian Library, who made arrangements for me to examine these documents as a guest of the Library from the 11th to the 23rd of June 1990. My thanks are also due to the staff of the Oriental Department of the Bodleian Library for its kind co-operation, and especially to Ms Doris Nicholson for the painstaking care with which paper prints of certain manuscripts were prepared for me.

[42] See MS Sinh.d.3(R), 61 r 3 above and passim: *eṅḍaru tel belikaṭuven deka hamārak pamaṇa vakkara* "pouring about two and a half oyster-shells of castor oil".

[43] The author is willing to collaborate with pharmaceutical laboratories interested in analysing the active principle of the plants mentioned in these medical texts. It is gratifying to note that this type of research is done in certain pharmaceutical laboratories in the United States of America; see *The Economist (24.2.1990)*, p.109.

On the Identity of *Arka*, an Āyurvedic Class of Medicines[1]

DAMODARAN SURESH KUMAR

Āyurveda employs several classes of medicine in the treatment of diseases. According to the medieval text *Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā*, considered today to be the authorative work on āyurvedic pharmacy, expressed juices, decoctions, spirituous liquors, oils, clarified butter, electuaries, pastes, powders and tablets are the important classes of medicines.[2] However, the Sanskrit treatise *Arkaprakāśa* (AP[3]), traditionally ascribed to King Rāvaṇa of Rāmāyaṇa fame, describes another variety called *arka*.[4] In modern times the term *arka* is often equated with hydrodistillates, essences and medical tinctures.[5] Nevertheless, several contradictory points were noticed during the course of a careful study of this not so popular text and are presented hereunder to serve as pointers for future research.

Ingredients with no volatile constituents

Flesh

At the beginning of the text the author extols the virtues of the *arka* of flesh and recommends it as an effective medicine for almost all diseases (2:58-62). The *arka* prepared from human flesh is said to offer protection from snake-bite (4:96). Administration of an *arka* of ovine heart prepared in goat milk is recommended in oedema and consumption (5:39). The *arka* of the meat of a black rooster is said to cure *koṣṭharoga* (6:30). A classification of meat and recipes of *arka*s of oysters, fish, monkeys, and birds are to be found in chapters 2 (verses 63-71;81-83) and 4 (verses 76-95).

Blood

An *arka* of blood is indicated in trauma of the heart (5:55).

Egg

There is an interesting recipe for an *arka* of eggs (4:97).

Milk, honey, etc.

The text describes recipes of many *arka*s involving milk, buttermilk, clarified butter, honey etc. References to such ingredients are presented in Table 1.

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[1] Dr. G.J. Meulenbeld read the manuscript of this study critically and offered valuable suggestions, for which I would like to thank him here. I am also beholden to my supporting agency, the AVR Educational Foundation of Ayurveda, Coimbatore.

[2] Murthy 1984: 1-45.

[3] References to this text will be to its chapters and verses.

[4] Vaisya 1981: 1-190.

[5] Anonymous 1978: 21-22; Nesamony 1985: 481; Meulenbeld 1981.

Salt, sugar, minerals, etc.

A striking example of an *arka* of salts is the *śaṅkhadrāva* (2:72-80). References to several non-volatile ingredients identified in the recipes are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Ingredients having little volatile constituents

Name of ingredient	References to chapter and verse
Liquids	
Clarified butter	5:1, 6:11, 6:35
Milk	5:41, 5:42, 5:48, 5:55, 5:57, 5:90, 6:11, 6:34, 7:3, 7:29-30
Buttermilk	5:10, 5:26, 5:30, 6:32
Cow urine	5:31, 5:75, 5:95, 5:101
Calf urine	5:62
Goat urine	7:1, 7:32
Honey	5:55, 6:5, 6:11, 7:31, 7:35-36, 7:44, 7:88
Sesamum oil	7:31
Solids	
Sugar	5:38, 6:11, 7:8, 7:88
Rock-salt	5:59, 5:62, 5:73, 6:32, 7:8, 7:31, 7:32, 7:35-36, 7:41, 7:43, 7:77, 7:88
Ruma salt	6:6
Vida salt (*viḍlavaṇa*)	5:91
Ash of plants (*kṣāra*)	5:4, 5:95, 6:4
Alkali from barley straw (*yavakṣāra*)	5:89
Bamboo manna (*vaṃśalocana*)	3:18, 5:38
Lac	3:35, 5:101, 6:28
Soot from chimneys of houses (*gṛhadhūma*)	6:5, 7:43
Chalk of reddish brown colour (*gairika*)	7:35-36
Cuttle-fish bone (*samudraphena*)	3:19, 7:35-36
Marine oyster (*samudraśukti*)	5:90
Mineral bitumen (*śilājit*)	4:18-23, 5:31
Orpiment (*haritāla*)	5:25
Sulphur (*gandhaka*)	5:27, 5:101
Realgar (*manaḥśilā*)	6:5, 7:29-30, 7:35-36
Iron rust (*ayomala*)	7:1

Identical formulae from *Cakradatta*

Careful study shows that some plants not described in classical treatises are mentioned in the text. Examples are *Capsicum annuum* L. var. *acuminatum* Fingh. (*jvālā-*

marīca, 3:11), *Lepidium sativum* L. (*candraśūra*, 3:13) and *Smilax china* L. (*dvīpāntaravacā*, 3:16). The sequence of listing the plants in chapter 3 bears striking resemblance to that of the *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*.[6] Moreover, syphilis (*phiraṅgaroga*), first reported in Āyurveda by Bhāvamiśra in the 16th century AD,[7] also finds its place in the text (3:16, 6:39, 6:41). This evidence suggests that the extant version of AP may have been composed in the medieval period.[8] To confirm the medieval origin of the text, an attempt was made to trace the source of some of the formulae described in it.

Single drug remedies

Interesting findings emerged from a comparison of the single drug formulae of AP with similar recipes of the *Cakradatta* (CD)[9], composed in the 11th century AD by Cakrapāṇidatta[10]. Several examples are given below.

1) An *arka* of *palāśa* seeds (*Butea monosperma* [Lam.] Kuntze) and buttermilk is said to kill worms (5:26). The recipe available in CD recommends a paste of the seeds in buttermilk (p.109).
2) An *arka* of *kūśmāṇḍa* (*Benincasa cerifera* Savi) with *yavakṣāra* and *hiṅgu* (*Ferula foetida* Regel) is prescribed in the treatment of urolithiasis (5:95). CD prescribes the same combination with the juice of *kūśmāṇḍa* (pp.281;285).
3) AP recommends oral administration of an *arka* of tender leaves of the *padminī* (*Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertn.) mixed with sugar for curing a prolapse of the rectum (7:10). CD recommends a paste of the tender leaves (p.424).
4) An *arka* of the bark of *aśoka* (*Saraca asoka* [Roxb.] De Wilde) mixed with clarified butter and milk is indicated in the treatment of dysfunctional bleeding (7:70). CD recommends a decoction of the bark (p.503).
5) An *arka* of *aśvagandhā* (*Withania somnifera* Dunal) mixed with clarified butter and milk is said to cure female infertility (7:75). The same formula occurring in CD includes a decoction of the drug (p.509).

Compound medicines

Some of the compound formulae of AP bear striking resemblance to those of CD.

1) The formula of *bhagnasandhipara arka* (6:28) is identical with that of *asthisaṃhārādicūrṇa* of CD (p.371).
2) The formula of *ślīpadarogapara arka* (6:7) is identical with that of *dhastūrādiprayoga* (p.337).
3) The only difference between *visarparogapara arka* (6:35) and *daśāṅgalepa* of CD (p.410) is that the latter includes *dāruharidrā* (*Berberis aristata* DC.) as an extra ingredient.

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[6] Pandey 1984: 1-984.

[7] Mishra 1949: 530-534.

[8] Meulenbeld 1981.

[9] Mishra 1983.

[10] Meulenbeld 1984.

4) The formula of the *arka* for blackening hair (7:1) is exactly identical with that of the paste prescribed in CD (p.433).
5) The formula of *pūtināsārogapara arka* (7:41) is presented in CD as *vyāghrītaila* (p.464).
6) The *mukhapākarogapara arka* (7:56) and CD's *jātipatrādikvātha* (p.452) have identical ingredients.
7) While CD prescribes *bālacaturbhadrikā* powder mixed with honey for curing children's ailments (p.523), AP recommends an *arka* of the same drugs mixed with honey (7:84).
8) The only difference between the *bālarogapara arka* (7:86-87) and *rajanyādicūrṇa* of CD (pp.523-524) is that the latter includes *bṛhatīdvaya* instead of *bṛhatī*.
9) *Pradararogapara arka* (7:71) and *dārvyādikvātha* (p.503) have more or less the same ingredients. The only difference is that *arkapuṣpī* in AP is substituted in CD with *bhallātaka*.
10) While CD recommends a warm mixture of ginger juice, honey, rock-salt and sesamum oil for curing pain in the ear (p.456), AP prescribes an *arka* of the same drugs (7:31).
11) The ingredients of the *netrarogapara arka* (7:29-30) and *candrodayavarti* (pp.480-481) are exactly the same.
12) The same is the case with the *mūrcchāpara arka* (5:58) and *kōlamajjādicūrṇa* (p.167).

It is remarkable that the preparation of not even one of the seventeen identical medicines from CD involves distillation.

Fermented decoctions

The term *arka* is also applicable to fermented decoctions as evidenced by the statement that an *ariṣṭa* is an *arka* prepared from boiled drugs (2:91). According to standard treatises of Āyurveda an *ariṣṭa* is a decoction fermented by the addition of jaggery, honey and other sweet substances.[11] Several fermented products like *surā*, *sīdhu*, *vāruṇī* etc., are also described (2:92-98).

Use of preservatives

In chapter 1 the author states that one should never administer *arka*s which have developed a foul odour. He further stipulates that malodorous *arka*s are to be scented with fragrant flowers (1:76-78). Directions for imparting fragrance to *arka*s of substances like milk, curd, buttermilk, meat soup, honey, oil, clarified butter and other liquids are available (2:30-33).

It is stated that all *arka*s should be "fumigated" with sulphur and that such a treatment renders them "powerful and noble like the sun" (2:41). Sulphur is an ingredient of *jaṭāmāṃsyādivāsanā* and *daśāṅgadhūpa* recommended for this purpose (2:46-50). As sulphur

[11] Sharma—Dash 1983: 524-527.

dioxide is known from modern research to be a good preservative,[12] fumigation with sulphur is suggested apparently to prevent decomposition of the *arka*.

Is *arka* a decoction?

Salig Ram Vaisya remarks in the introduction to the Hindi translation of AP[13] that the term *arka* means a decoction (pages 7-12). The *Vācaspatya* also translates *arka* as a type of decoction (*kvāthaviśeṣa*).[14] Curiously, Rāvaṇa does not include *kvātha* among the five classes of medicines, viz., *kalka* (paste), *cūrṇa* (powder), *rasa* (expressed juice), *taila* (oil) and *arka* (1:46). It may be mentioned in this context that a procedure for making *arka* is described in Sōḍhala's *Gadanigraha* the of 13th century AD[15] In modern times some authors have used the word *arka* as a synonym of expressed juice.[16]

However, from the description given in the beginning of the AP one gets the impression that the contraption to be used for making an *arka* is a crude version of the modern day distillation apparatus (1:55-60). It seems likely that certain intricacies of the art of making an *arka* might have been intentionally concealed by the author and his school of thought. This is substantiated by the statement that the *arka* of flowers is to be prepared 'according to the technique learnt from the master' (4:36-38). There is also mention of *arka*s prepared without the use of fire (1:61-73). The occurrence of various formulae for witchcraft and sorcery in the eighth chapter and the unconventional concepts of *rasa*, *guṇa*, *vīrya*, *vipāka* and *prabhāva* (1:24-45) cannot have made the text very popular among the scholarly practitioners of Āyurveda, while at the same time lending an aura of mystification to its contents.

It is mentioned in AP that for preparing *arka*s one should use a distillation vessel which holds the same volume as the volume of the *arka* required (1:55-60). This and the other evidence suggest that an *arka* may be a pooled mixture of the hydrodistillate fraction representing essential oils and the aqueous extract remaining in the distillation vessel. This tentative hypothesis can explain the alleged superiority of *arka*s over decoctions which are practically devoid of the volatile compounds. Comparison of the chemical and pharmacological profiles of *arka*s and decoctions of single and compound drugs can be useful in solving this problem. The need for such experimental studies using an apparatus (*arkayantra*) made according to the instructions of Rāvaṇa is therefore strongly felt to clear the confusion regarding the exact meaning of the Sanskrit technical term *arka*.

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[12] O. Rahn and J.E. Conn, *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, 36, 1944, 185, cited by Egan—Kirk—Sawyer 1981: 60-61.

[13] Vaisya 1981.

[14] Bhattacharya 1969: 362.

[15] Meulenbeld 1981; Pandey 1968: 387-388.

[16] Ayurvedacharya 1951: 260.

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The Svastika antidote

RONALD E. EMMERICK

The India Office Library manuscript Ch ii.003 is a typical 'Sammelhandschrift', containing a number of texts. It is however unusual in being bilingual, the Sanskrit texts being accompanied by a Khotanese translation. Extant are only the folios numbered in the margins from 44 to 116, so that we do not know what the earlier folios contained. The extant folios contain parts at least of three medical texts. The manuscript has been termed 'Jīvaka-pustaka' by H.W. Bailey on account of the mention of the famous physician Jīvaka in the first of the three texts. In the absence of a title for any of the texts it is convenient to have a designation for the manuscript as long as we do not forget that we are dealing with three separate tracts, each of which begins with the word Siddham 'Success'. Text 1 runs from 44r1-47v3; Text 2 from 47v4-88v1; Text 3 from 88v1-116v5 and is incomplete.

Unfortunately we have no means of dating the manuscript precisely. No detailed palaeographical study of the cursive Brahmi script as used in Central Asia has yet been made. The language of the Khotanese version is what we term 'Late Khotanese', but that term is only relative. It is a form of the language that on the basis of historical phonology we know must have developed from the earlier form of the language referred to as Old Khotanese, but we do not know the chronology of its development. All that we can say from the point of view of the language is that the text must have been written before the year AD 1000 after which no Khotanese was written. The Sanskrit likewise provides no clue to the date of the manuscript. Even if we could date the manuscript, that would only give us a terminus ante quem for the individual texts contained in it. It is obvious that composite manuscripts may contain copies of the texts of widely differing age. In the case of texts 2 and 3 it has been possible to trace some of the prescriptions to other known medical manuscripts. However, we do not know whether the present manuscript contains the original text of these anthologies or is copied from an earlier anthology. What we do know is that the Khotanese translator based his translation on the corrupt Sanskrit text as we find it in our manuscript.

Hoernle considered that the corrupt Sanskrit of our manuscript represented the language of a Buddhist monk 'without much Brahmanic culture' (1917: 417) and that in the case of those prescriptions occurring in the Jīvaka-pustaka that are found also in the classical texts the original 'barbarous Sanskrit' was corrected by the later authors who adopted them. Thus, he considered that JP [18] was corrected by Dṛḍhabala when he inserted it into the Carakasaṃhitā. However, Hoernle has not proved his case. The fact that in JP [18] the Sanskrit text has *bilvā* whereas our editions of the Carakasaṃhitā read *piṣṭvā* certainly does not lend his case the support he thought it did. Even if the writing of *bilvā* instead of *piṣṭvā* could be considered evidence of lack of 'Brahmanic culture' — which I do not find convincing — we cannot exclude what is very likely to have been the case, namely that Dṛḍhabala based his text on an oral tradition containing *piṣṭvā* in the text since, as Hoernle himself pointed out, even the Khotanese translator rendered both *bilvā* and a *piṣṭvā* that he did not have before him. Moreover, we are not dealing here with an autograph. Whether or not the anthology is copied from an already existing anthology, the prescriptions themselves must have been taken from various sources having their own variations in textual transmission.

Hitherto no evidence has been found in support of the idea that our texts may have been written in Buddhist Sanskrit. We would have expected at least a few of the forms that are typical of Buddhist Sanskrit to occur in a text of such length. Hoernle was most impressed by the occurrence of *trayau dadyā baidavau* in JP [2-3].16 for grammatically correct Sanskrit *trīn dadyād bindūn* considering *trayo dadyād bindavo* to be a transposition of an underlying Prakrit phrase such as Pali *tayo dajjā bindavo*. Certainly this may explain why the *scribe* could make such a mistake, but I do not think it proves that the 'original' text had *dadyād*. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the scribe writing the Sanskrit was doing so from dictation, and in this particular instance I think what he actually heard was *deyā*, which as far as he was concerned meant the same. Indeed in the Khotanese rendering optatives as well as gerunds and gerundives are usually translated by Khotanese participles of necessity as here where the Khotanese has *haurāña*.

The Svastika antidote was first studied by Hoernle in his article 'An ancient medical manuscript from Eastern Turkestan', pp. 415-432 in: *Commemorative essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, Poona 1917. There he he provided a transcription of the Khotanese and Sanskrit, a restoration of the Sanskrit, and translation of the Khotanese of **JP [1] - [3]** and of **JP [18]**. Subsequently the whole of the Khotanese text of Ch ii.003 was transcribed and translated by S. Konow in *A medical text in Khotanese, Ch II 003 of the India Office Library* (= Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1940. No. 4), Oslo 1941. However, Konow deliberately left aside the Sanskrit text considering it too corrupt to be of much use. In 1945 H.W. Bailey published a complete transcription of both the Sanskrit and the Khotanese of Ch ii.003, but he made no attempt to restore the Sanskrit text. Part of the text being studied here was translated by Bailey in *The Cambridge History of Iran, volume 3(2) The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods*, ed. E. Yarshater, Cambridge 1983, 1233-1234.

Hoernle returned to the study of the Jīvaka-pustaka and it was his intention to publish a study of folios 44-72r under the title of 'An ancient medical manuscript from Turkestan' as volume 2 of *Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*. His edition included a lengthy introduction on the manuscript, its script, and language and contained besides his edition and translation of the Khotanese text his reconstruction of the Sanskrit text. The manuscript of this book was marked by him as 'Press-Copy' and is to be found in the India Office Library among his Nachlaß under the signature MSS Eur D 723. Matsuda Kazunobu in *The Eastern Buddhist*, n.s. XX.2, 1987, 113 n. 9 erroneously refers to this as the Siddhasāra.

Hoernle's "restoration" of the Sanskrit text is based on his assumption that the original Sanskrit was not correct anyway so that many of the problems posed by an attempt to reconstruct the kind of Sanskrit used by the classical medical authors were not even raised by him. My own attempt is based on the assumption that the same kind of Sanskrit was employed, but that the text as we have it is due to a Khotanese scribe with inadequate training in Sanskrit writing down from dictation. There is of course a major problem involved inasmuch as no description of the language of the classical medical authors is available, and it would not be very profitable to write one in the absence of reliable critical editions. However, as always someone must begin somewhere, and the present contribution may perhaps be worth while even if only on account of the questions it raises rather than those it solves.

Whereas Text 1 contains Sanskrit and Khotanese alternating phrase by phrase, in Text 2 and Text 3 the Khotanese rendering follows the complete Sanskrit text of each prescription. The reason for this change of method is not known.

The text is presented here according to the following system. First I give the Sanskrit and Khotanese text line by line as it appears in the manuscript. The lines are referred to by folio number followed by "r" for "recto" or "v" for "verso" and then the line number. The Sanskrit text is printed in roman, the Khotanese in italic. Following the transcription of the manuscript line(s) comes the edition which is arranged as follows: The numbers within square brackets following JP (Jīvaka-pustaka) are those assigned by Konow and widely used. They are convenient since on the whole he used one number for each prescription. Unfortunately he was not quite consistent and he also did not take into account the fact that the manuscript actually contains three texts. Since Konow did not number the individual verses whereas Hoernle did and the enumeration is quite convenient, I have attached verse numbers, where they apply, to the number within square brackets separating it by a point. Thus JP [2-3].2 means verse 2 in sections 2-3 in Konow's numbering. There follow references to the location within manuscript Ch ii.003. Thus, 44r1 means the first line on the recto of folio 44. Within each section beginning with JP there are five items marked (a) to (e). (a) contains that portion of the Sanskrit text referred assigned to the JP reference, (b) contains a reconstruction of (a) in standard Sanskrit orthography, (c) contains my English rendering of (b), (d) contains that portion of the Khotanese text assigned to the JP reference, and (e) contains my English translation of the Khotanese version.

Text and Translation of the Svastika Antidote

44r1 siddham ṇamau brrahmaṇe . *aurga ttā brrahmāṃ hālai :* namau saidha-vaidyādharāṇāṃ . *aurga ttā saidha-vaidhyādarāṃ raṣa'yā hālai :* bhagavāṃ brraṣmī

JP [1] 44r1

(a) siddham namau brrahmaṇe . namau saidha-vaidyādharāṇāṃ .

(b) । Siddham
namo brahmaṇe namaḥ siddha-vidyādharāṇām ।

(c) Homage to Brahma! Homage to the Siddhas (and) the Vidyādharas.

(d) aurga ttā brrahmāṃ hālai : aurga ttā saidha-vaidhyādarāṃ raṣa'yā hālai :

(e) Homage to Brahma! Homage to the seers, the Siddhas (and) the Vidyādharas.

44r2 tta mai *jasta be'ysä tta tta hve sä ttū ttā mahā jsa :* śrrūṇū ttā vakṣyąme jīvaką sarvąthā : *pū javā hvą̄ñū ttā harbaiśa padya :* ye kecaitda-

44r3 -d agadā sine : *ca bure heca agade :* jaṃbudvīpe viṣāpaphā . *jaṃbvīyä bi pahiśā'kye .* upąry ąpari sarvi:ṣā' *uskātta u-*

JP [2-3].1 44r1-3

(a) bhagavāṃ brraṣmītta mai śrrūṇū ttā vakṣyąme jīvaką sarvąthā :
ye ke caitdad agadā sine : jaṃbudvīpe vi̯ṣāpaphā .

(b) bhagavān abravīt tan me śṛṇu vakṣyāmi sarvathā ।
ye kecid agadāḥ santi jambudvīpe viṣāpahāḥ ।1।

(c) The Lord said: 'Hear this from me: I will tell you fully whatever remedies there are in Jambudvīpa that remove poison.'

(d) jasta be'ysä tta tta hve sä ttū ttā mahā jsa : pū javā hvąñū ttā harbaiśa padya :
ca bure heca agade : jaṃbvīyä bi pahi̯śā'kye .

(e) The Lord Buddha spoke thus: 'Hear this from me, Jīvaka: I will tell in every way whatever remedies (there are) in Jambudvīpa (that are) removers of poison.'

44r4 *-skātta rbīśāṃ agadāṃ myąña :* ahaṃ vakṣyąmi ttat śrruṇū : *ayse ttā hvąñū tvā pū :* parapilavasyą catvāre : *parapilava tcau mā-*

JP [2-3].2 44r3-5

(a) upąry ąpari sarvi:ṣā' ahaṃ vakṣyąmi ttat śrruṇū :
parapilavasyą catvāre : catvārau nąladąsyą ca :

(b) upary upari sarveṣām ahaṃ vakṣyāmi tac chṛṇu ।
paripelasya catvāraś catvāro naladasya ca ।2।

(c) 'I will tell (you the best medicines that are) above all. Hear this: Let there be (1) four (measures) of nut grass (*paripela*), (2) four mācāṃgas of nard (*nalada*),

(d) uskātta uskātta *harbīśāṃ agadāṃ myąña : ayse ttā hvąñū tvā pū :
parapilava tcau mācāṃgyi : tcahau mācāṃgyi gaṃdha-nalądha :

(e) 'Among all the remedies in succession, I will tell you (them). Hear this: (Take) (1) nut grass (*paripela*) — four mācāṃgas; (2) nard (*nalada*) — four mācāṃgas;

44r5 *-cāṃgyi :* catvārau nąladąsyą ca : *tcahau mācāṃgyi gaṃdha-nalądha :* caṃdanasyą catvāri : *caṃdaṃ tcau mācāṃga :* catvārau agarā bhavatte : *tcahau*

44v1 *mācāṃgi agara hami :* tvacisyāpi vą catvāri : *tvaca pā tcahau mācāṃga :* catvārā kūkūmasyą ca . *tcahau mācāṃgyi kūrkūṃ :* tta-

JP [2-3].3 44r5-44v1

(a) caṃdanasyą catvāri : catvārau agarā bhavatte :
tvacisyāpi vą catvāri : catvārā kūkūmasyą ca .

(b) candanasya ca catvāraś catvāraś cāguror bhavet |
tvacasyāpi ca catvāraś catvāraḥ kuṅkumasya ca |3|

(c) 'and (3) four (measures) of sandal (*candana*); and (4) four (measures) of agalloch (*aguru*); and (5) four (measures) of cinnamon bark (*tvaca*); and (6) four (measures) of saffron (*kuṅkuma*).'

(d) caṃdaṃ tcau mācāṃga : tcahau mācāṃgi agara hami :
tvaca pā tcahau mācāṃga : tcahau mācāṃgyi kūrkūṃ :

(e) '(3) sandal (*candana*) — four mācāṃgas; (4) there should be agalloch (*aguru*) — four mācāṃgas; (5) cinnamon bark (*tvaca*) next — four mācāṃgas; (6) saffron (*kuṅkuma*) — four mācāṃgas.'

44v2 -thā vyāghrranakhasyāpi . *ttū padī vyāghrranaka ṣai :* dadyā bhāgą-catūṣṭīyi : *haurąña tcau mācāṃga :* paṃca[1]mautapale kūṣṭasya : *paṃjsa mā-*

[1] *ca* written below and caret above.

44v3 *-cāṃga nīlättpala u kauṣṭa :* hīravīraṃ ca ąṣṭamaṃ : *hīravī haṣṭa mācāṃga :* paṃca sūkṣmelayā dadyā : *paṃjsa mācāṃ mācāṃ*[2]*ga*

[2] *mācāṃ* written twice by dittography.

JP [2-3].4

(a) ttathā vyāghrranakhasyāpi . dadyā bhāgą-catūṣṭīyi :
paṃcamautapale-kūṣṭasya : hīravīrą ca ąṣṭamaṃ :

(b) tathā vyāghranakhasyāpi dadyād bhāga-catuṣṭayam |
pañcamotpala-kuṣṭhasya hiriverasya cāṣṭamam |4|

(c) 'Thus he should administer even (7) four parts of the "tiger's claw plant" (*vyāghranakha*); (8) five (parts) of blue water-lily (*utpala*) and (9) costus (*kuṣṭha*); and (10) eight (parts) of fragrant mallow (*hirivera*).'

(d) ttū padī vyāghrranaka ṣai : haurąña tcau mācāṃga :
paṃjsa mācāṃga nīlättpala u kauṣṭa : hīravī haṣṭa mācāṃga :

(e) 'In that way even (7) the "tiger's claw plant" (*vyāghranakha*) — four mācāṃgas must be administered; (8) blue water-lily (*utpala*) and (9) costus (*kuṣṭha*) — five mācāṃgas; (10) fragrant mallow (*hirivera*) — eight mācāṃgas.'

44v4 *-ga sukṣmela hūrąña ..* bhāgā su-ttalīnā bhiṣaka : *nasäna hūvamāva tta arvi vījani :* ątyattąna sarvąṇi :

44v5 *tta buri arvi harbiśa :* pīṣaya[1]yi vāraṇa saha : *uca jsa haṃtsa :* ttattra maṃttra-padā sịdhā : *ca ra jsāṃ pīrmāttaṃ sịdavaṃda :*

[1] This *ya* appears to be rubbed on the right. Perhaps it was meant to be deleted.

JP [2-3].5

(a) paṃca sūkṣmelayā dadyā : bhāgā su-ttalīnā bhịṣaka :
ạtyattạ̄na sarvạ̄ṇi : pīṣayayi vāraṇa saha :

(b) pañca sūkṣmelāyā dadyād bhāgāḥ su-tulitān bhiṣak |
etāny etāni sarvāṇi peṣayed vāriṇā saha |5|

(c) 'The physician should administer five portions of (11) lesser cardamom (*sūkṣmailā*) that have been well weighed. All those (drugs) he should pound with water.'

(d) paṃjsa mācāṃga sukṣmela hūrạ̄ña .. nasäna hūvamāva tta arvi vījani :
tta buri arvi harbiśa : uca jsa haṃtsa :

(e) '(11) Lesser cardamom (*sūkṣmailā*) — five mācāṃgas are to be administered: those drugs having been well measured as to the portion by the physician. All those drugs (he must pound) with water.

45r1 śrrūṇū vakṣyạ̄ma jīvakạ : *pū cve va hvāñūṃ ttavā tcaṃna tta arvi ṣā'ña u ṣā' agada : //* ttadyathā kiśi kiśi kiśa laṃbi hälī hilī namau

45r2 baudhasya sịdhyaṃttū maṃttra-pạdạ̄ni svāhā : agattā yi ttauvi : *ṣa' vīja ca āṃ tvā agada śū'hye :* īmä maṃttram ūdāhari : *tta ạ̄na yāṃda*

JP [2-3].6

(a) ttattra maṃttra-padā sịdhā : śrrūṇū vakṣyạ̄ma jīvakạ :
[ttadyathā kiśi kiśi kiśa laṃbi hälī hilī
namau baudhasya
sịdhyaṃttū maṃttra-pạdạ̄ni svāhā :]
agattā yi ttauvi : īmä maṃttram ūdāhari :

(b) tatra mantra-padāḥ siddhāḥ śṛṇu vakṣyāmi jīvaka |
agadaṃ yo . . . . imaṃ mantram udāharet |6|

(c) 'In that case the spells that have succeeded, hear, I will tell (you), Jīvaka. The one who (prepares that) remedy should pronounce this mantra,'

(d) ca ra jsāṃ pīrmāttaṃ sịdavaṃda : pū cve va hvāñūṃ *javā[1] tcaṃna tta arvi ṣā'ña u ṣā' agada : || ṣa' vīja ca āṃ tvā agada śū'hye : tta ą̄na yāṃda ṣa' maṃdrra hvañai :

[1] *javā* for MS. *ttavā*; cf. *javā* 44r2 translating *jīvaka*.

(e) 'And what (are) the best, efficacious (spells): hear what I tell you, Jīvaka, with what those drugs are to be consecrated and this remedy. The physician who prepares this remedy — (by him) that mantra must be pronounced thus continually.'

45r3 *ṣa' maṃdrra hvañai :* śūca-samāhyina būtvā : *surai vī hūysīnautta hamą̄ña vasvi samāhye : śinvā va nāsą̄ñä* pūṣya yaugena

45r4 budamāṃ : *pväśa nakṣattra vīra bvą̄maya vījina : ṣa' kīrä :* ttasya karma-gūṇā krraitsnā : *ttyi agadä hīyi kīra bvijsi aha-*

JP [2-3].7

(a) śūca-samāhyina būtvā : pūṣya-yaugena budamāṃ :
ttasya karma-gūṇā krraitsnā : śrūṇū vakṣyą̄ma jīvakä :

(b) śuci-samādhinā bhūtvā puṣya-yogena buddhimān |
tasya karma-guṇān kṛtsnān śṛṇu vakṣyāmi jīvaka |7|

(c) 'having become engaged in pure meditation, at the juncture of Puṣya, endowed with wisdom. All the virtues of its action, hear, I will tell (them), Jīvaka.'

(d) surai-v-ī hūysīnautta hamą̄ña vasvi samāhye : śinvāva nāsą̄ñä pväśa nakṣattra vīra bvą̄maya vījina : ṣa' kīrä : ttyi agadä hīyi kīra bvijsi aharīnaka . pū aysä ttā hvą̄ñūṃ jīvā :

(e) 'He must be clean, well-washed, pure, concentrating. ... under the constellation Puṣya must be adopted by a wise physician. (As for) that action, all the virtues of the action of that remedy, hear, I will tell (them), Jīvaka.'

45r5 *-rīnaka* . śrūṇū vakṣyą̄ma jīvakä : *pū ayse ttā hvą̄ñūṃ jīvā :* sarva-rauga-prraśamanī : *harbīśāṃ āchāṃ naṣị'māka :* samā-

45v1 -sāga-gattāttama : *haṃbica jsa saṃ ṣā' agada pīrmāttama hvava pū vịstharnai ttā hvą̄ñūṃ :* yiṣū rgoṣū bhiṣajya *ką̄myāṃ āchāṃ*

JP [2-3].8

(a) sarva-rauga-prraśamanī : samāsāga-gattāttama :
yiṣū rgoṣū bhiṣajya

(b) sarva-roga-praśamanaḥ samāsād agadottamaḥ |
yeṣu rogeṣu bhaiṣajyaṃ [śṛṇu vakṣyāmi jīvaka] |8|

(c) 'In short, (this) foremost remedy is a pacifier of all diseases. Hear, Jīvaka, (for) I will tell in (the case of) which diseases (this) medicament (is to be used).'

(d) harbīśāṃ āchāṃ naṣį'māka : haṃbica jsa saṃ ṣā' agada pīrmāttama hvava pū vį-stharnai ttā hvąñūṃ : kąmyāṃ āchāṃ vī ṣa' arva ī :

(e) 'The pacifier of all diseases — in short precisely this remedy has been said to be the foremost. Hear, I will tell in detail in (the case of) which diseases there should be (administration of) this medicament.'

45v2 *vī ṣa' arva ī :* diva-gaṃdha-yikṣiṣū : *jasta gaṃdharvi yakṣa :* prrītta-dārūṇā-rākṣasā : *prrīyi bīysąnā rakṣaysä :*

45v3 sarva-bhūtta-vakāriṣū : *harbīśāṃ būvajāṃ āchāṃ vīra* . lalāṭim ūpaye : *ṣā' agada haṃdrrauja pīsälyą-*

JP [2-3].9

(a) diva-gaṃdha-yikṣiṣū : prrītta-dārūṇā-rākṣasā :
sarva-bhūtta-vakāriṣū : lalāṭim ūpaye :

(b) deva-gandharva-yakṣeṣu preta-dāruṇa-rakṣasām |
sarva-bhūta-vikāreṣu lalāṭam upalepayet |9|

(c) 'In (the case of diseases due to) gods, Gandharvas, (and) Yakṣas, (and) in (the case of) all diseases due to Bhūtas, Pretas (and) frightful Rākṣasas, one should smear this remedy on the forehead.'

(d) jasta gaṃdharvi yakṣa : prrīyi bīysąnā rakṣaysä :
harbīśāṃ būvajāṃ āchāṃ vīra . ṣā' agada haṃdrrauja pīsälyą

(e) 'Gods, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Pretas, frightful Rākṣasas — in (the case of) all diseases due to Bhūtas, this remedy must be smeared on the forehead.'

45v4 *-ña :* śąmyatti sarva-vittāṇḍā : *naṣa'māra-ṃ jsa harbįśa vittāla :* pūrnanākrraitta-vidhaka : *būva u kūra hīra :* khākhau-

45v5 -dāś viva śąmyatti : *cāyūṃ jsa pātca bįśa naṣa'māri :* grrahā yau ca sudāraṇā *kąma ra jsąna tta grraha' cū bīhī bī[1]ysąnā :* sarvina

[1] *bī* written below line with caret above.

JP [2-3].10

(a) śą̄myatti sarva-vittāṇḍā : pūrnanākrraitta-vidhaka :
khākhaudāś viva śą̄myatti : grrahā yau ca sudāraṇā

(b) śāmyati sarva-vetāla-pūtanā-kṛta-viddhakam |
kākhordāś caiva śāmyanti grahā ye ca su-dāruṇāḥ |10|

(c) 'All injury caused by Vetālas and Pūtanās will be pacified. And Kākhordas will be pacified too and whatever very frightful Grahas (there may be).'

(d) naṣa'māra-ṃ jsa harbịśa vittāla : būva u kūra hīra :
cāyūṃ jsa pātca bịśa naṣa'māri : ką̄ma ra jsą̄na tta grraha' cū bīhī bīysą̄nā :

(e) 'Thereby will be pacified all Vetālas, Bhūtas, and evil things. Then all (ills that are) due to magic power will be pacified thereby, and whatever Grahas (there may be), which are very frightful.'

46r1 su-prrayāttārthaṃ : *harbīśāṃ pahiją̄mi udaśāyä :* agadā samūdāhyattä : *ṣā' agada hvava ṣṭi :* halāha'laiṣū saṃyūhttaṃ

46r2 *cu halahala bäna skva īde :* vaṣa-pīttaṣū dāraṇā : *cū vā eha' ttraikṣa bi ā ī :* pītta śīttą̄na ttauyina : *khāśą̄'ña*

JP [2-3].11

(a) sarvina su-prrayāttārthaṃ : agadā samūdāhyattä :
halāha'laiṣū saṃyūhttaṃ vaṣa-pīttaṣū dāraṇā :

(b) sarveṣāṃ su-praghātārtham agadaḥ samudāhṛtaḥ |
halāhaleṣu saṃyukte viṣa-pīteṣu dāruṇam |11|

(c) 'On account of the thorough suppression of all (ills) has (this) remedy been expounded. (It is used) in (the case of one who) has been affected by *halāhala*-poisons (and) in (the case of those who) have drunk severe poison.'

(d) harbīśāṃ pahiją̄mi udaśāyä : ṣā' agada hvava ṣṭi :
cu halahala-bäna skva īde : cū vā eha' ttraikṣa bi ā ī :

(e) 'On account of the obstruction of all (ills) has this remedy been taught: when (people) have been touched by *halahala*-poison or when severe poison may have come into the mouth.'

46r3 *pvāyi ucana :* sattyā ca vittä naravaṣaṃ : *ttanī thyau vīna be hamāre* . banaviṭaṣū gāttriṣū : *ca vā aṃga tta na-*

46r4 *-rva ha'tcasta u hvasta :* āyūvaṣidūṣattä *prraharaṇḍyau jsa bi-vūḍau :* vrraṇālaipanä māttreṇa : *viraṇāṃ bai-*

JP [2-3].12

(a) pītta śīttąna ttauyina : sattyā ca vittä naravaṣaṃ :
banaviṭaṣū gāttriṣū : āyū-vaṣi-dūṣattä

(b) pīte śītena toyena sadyo bhavati nirviṣaḥ |
bāṇa-viddheṣu gātreṣu āyudha-viṣa-dūṣitaḥ |12|

(c) 'If (this medicament is) drunk with cold water, he will at once become wothout poison. In (the case of) those whose limbs have been pierced by arrows (and one who has been) vitiated by the poison of a weapon,'

(d) khāśą'ña pvāyi ucana : ttanī thyau vīna be hamāre .
ca vā aṃga tta narva ha'tcasta u hvasta : prraharaṇḍyau jsa bi-vūḍau :

(e) 'It must be drunk with cold water. Thereby they quickly become without poison. Or when the limbs are thus pierced (?), broken and beaten by poison-covered weapons,'

46r5 *-da sakhalyāña masvąña jsa :* vrraṇa-dīṣā prramūcatta : *vīraṃ hīye gaṃjsa jsa gūśta :* jattavā ye cadrraiṣṭāsya : *kąma ra*[1] *jsąna ā-*

[1] *ra* in MS. written below line with caret above.

46v1 *-phīḍa prrąṇāṃ hamāṃde :* yaurā parame dārūṇā : *bīysąṇā bīhī ttraikṣa :* daheyū vaṣṭa māttrāṇi : *cu hvaṇḍa pada-*

JP [2-3].13

(a) vrraṇālaipanä māttreṇa : vrraṇa-dīṣā prramūcatta :
jattavā ye ca drraiṣṭā sya : yaurā parame dārūṇā :

(b) vraṇālepana-mātreṇa vraṇa-doṣāt pramucyate |
jantavo ye ca duṣṭāḥ syur ghorāḥ parama-dāruṇāḥ |13|

(c) 'by merely smearing it on the wound one is freed from the fault of the wound, and whatever evil insects there may be, frightful, extremely fierce,'

(d) viraṇāṃ baida sakhalyąña-masvąña jsa : vīraṃ hīye gaṃjsa jsa gūśta :
kąma ra jsąna āphīḍa prrąṇą hamāṃde : bīysąṇā bīhī ttraikṣa :

(e) 'by merely smearing it on the wounds, one escapes from the fault of the wound, and whatever disturbed insects there may be, frightful, very fierce,'

46v2 *-jsīda dūṣṭa-masu :* ttiṣąm apavaṣāvryā : *ttyāṃ hīyai pā be' pahaiśąe' :* yasyä hasta gattā naittyaṃ . *ca ttye baida ṣa' agada*

46v3 *hamāve :* pāpa ttasya na jāyatte : *ttye herī vīśū'na hīra na hamāre :* sarva ca sādayi cārthaṃ : *harbīśai hāva saijī*

JP [2-3].14

(a) daheyū vaṣṭa-māttrāṇi : ttiṣąm apavaṣāvryā :
yasyä hasta-gattā naittyaṃ . pāpa ttasya na jāyatte :

(b) daheyur duṣṭa-mātrāṇi teṣāṃ viṣāpavṛttaye |
yasya hasta-gato nityaṃ pāpaṃ tasya na jāyate |14|

(c) '(if) they should burn things that have just been disturbed, (it will serve) to ward off the poison from them. Evil will never arise for one who is in possession (of this remedy).'

(d) cu hvąṇḍa padajsīda dūṣṭa-masu : ttyāṃ hīyai pā be' pahaiśąe' :
ca ttye baida ṣa' agada hamāve : ttye herī vīśū'na hīra na hamāre :

(e) 'which burn men (whose humours) have just been disturbed, it is then a warder off of their poison. If this remedy should be on anyone, no evil things will ever arise for him.'

46v4 *-de :* pūnayäśta na jāyätte : *pātca pātcī upadrrava na ysyāre :* yi va gaura vabai'däṣvai : *cū bīysąnai be'na dūṣṭä :* vaṣa-

46v5 -ṣvastā suśąṇättā : *bi'na umya āphīḍe hūña jsä :* tteṣāṃ kākapadaṃ mūdhaṃ : *ttyāṃ jsa vasalaka tcerā ttera baidä :* krraitvā dadyā

JP [2-3].15

(a) sarva ca sādayi cārthaṃ : pūnayäśta na jāyätte :
yi va gaura-vabai'-däṣvai : vaṣa-ṣvastā su-śąṇättā :

(b) sarvaṃ ca sādhayed arthaṃ pūtayaś ca na jāyante |
ye ca ghora-viṣa-duṣṭā viṣa-suptā duḥ-śoṇitāḥ |15|

(c) 'And it will accomplish (his) every aim, and pus will not develop. And those who have been infected by frightful poison, numbed by poison, with disturbed blood,'

(d) harbīśai hāva saijīde : pātca pātcī upadrrava na ysyāre :
cū bīysąnai be'na dūṣṭä : bi'na umya āphīḍe hūña jsä :

(e) 'For him all advantages will succeed; for him there will never again arise supervenient diseases. (As for those) who have been infected by frightful poison, numbed by poison, with (their) blood disturbed,'

47r1 gadauttā : *tcerā ttera vīra haurāñai ṣa' agada :* mūkhanastū trayau dadyā baidavau : *ehi' drrai kane ṣa' agada haurāña* . nasta ttraye : *ha-*

47r2 *-ysgvā drrai kane :* agadenavalīpenä : *ttye agada sakhalyāñāme jsa :* ttatta saṃjīvattą supttaṃ : *ṣa' bina mauḍa hve paskyāṣṭa būjvaiye :* ttra-

JP [2-3].16

(a) tteṣāṃ kākapadaṃ mūdhaṃ : krraitvā dadyāgadauttā :
mūkhanastū trayau dadyā baidavau : nasta ttraye :

(b) teṣāṃ kākapadaṃ mūrdhni kṛtvā deyo 'gadas tataḥ |
mukha-tas tu trayo deyā bindavo nasta-tas trayaḥ |16|

(c) 'when the *kākapada* has been put on their forehead, then (this) remedy must be administered: from the mouth, three drops must be administered, from the nose (likewise) three.'

(d) ttyāṃ jsa vasalaka tcerā ttera baidä : †tcerā ttera vīra† haurāñai ṣa' agada :
ehi' drrai kane ṣa' agada haurāña . haysgvā drrai kane :

(e) 'they must make a mark on (their) forehead (and then) this remedy must be given to him. In the mouth — three drops; (so) must this remedy be given (or) in the nose — three drops.'

47r3 -bū-kīdättą daṣṭä : *gūṇā ysyāsajā jsva*[1] *dūrṣṭą :* lūttą-mūṣaką-veśte *cū vīśūnyāṃ dūṣṭa u mūlāṃ drrvāṇḍyau jsa :* nasya pāna-

[1] Hoernle and Konow read this akṣara as *jva*, Bailey as *jsva*. It appears to be *jsva* with the usual detached right stroke missing.

JP [2-3].17

(a) agadenavalīpenä : ttatta saṃjīvattą supttaṃ :
ttra-bū-kīdättą daṣṭä : lūttą-mūṣaką-veśte

(b) agadenāvalimpeta †tataḥ saṃjīvati suptaḥ† |
tṛṇa-bhū-kīṭakair daṣṭaḥ lūtā-mūṣaka-vṛścikaiḥ |17|

(c) 'One should besmear (him) with the remedy: then (one who has been rendered) unconscious (by poison) will revive. (One) bitten by worms that live in grass (or) by spiders, rats, scorpions,'

(d) ttye agada sakhalyāṇāṃme jsa : ṣa' bina mauḍa hve paskyāṣṭa būjvaiye :
gūṇā *ysāysajā[1] *jsa[2] dūrṣṭą : cū vīśūnyāṃ dūṣṭa u mūlāṃ drrvāṇḍyau jsa :

[1] *ysāysajā* by emendation (Bailey) for MS. *ysyāsajā*.
[2] *jsa* by emendation (Bailey) for MS. *jsva*.

(e) 'By the smearing on of this remedy, the man who has died due to poison will revive. (One) infected by worms (that live) in grass, whoever has been infected by spiders and rats (or) scorpions —'

47r4 -janālaipā *haysgvā khaśa' arja saṃkhalyūna* vadhąttā narvaṣe bhavä : *dyeną jsa vīnau be hame :* strīṇāṃ va mūcha-garbhāṇāṃ . *kāma tta strīye cū haṃ-*

47r5 *-jsyāra maichāṃ ā vā maichīde* . yauva-lepaṃ prradāpaye . *ttyāṃ pūrāña saṃ-khalyāña u haurāña :* vasucakayāṃ ghaurāyāṃ : *ca vā pejsa vasuja ī :*

JP [2-3].18

(a) nasya-pānajanālaipā vadhąttā narvaṣe bhavä :
strīṇāṃ va mūcha-garbhāṇāṃ . yauva-lepaṃ prradāpaye .

(b) nasya-pānāñjanālepād vidhinā nirviṣo bhavet |
strīṇāṃ vā mūḍha-garbhāṇāṃ yoni-lepaṃ pradāpayet |18|

(c) 'by (taking this medicament as) an errhine, a drink, an eyesalve, an ointment, according to the (prescribed) method, he will become without poison. Alternatively, one should administer it as an unguent for the womb to women having a difficult delivery.'

(d) haysgvā khaśa' *aṃjaṃ[1] saṃkhalyūna dyeną jsa vīnau be hame :
kāma tta strīye cū haṃjsyāra maichāṃ ā vā maichīde . ttyāṃ pūrāña saṃkhalyāña u haurāña :

[1] **aṃjaṃ* by emendation for MS. *arja*.

(e) '(if this medicament is taken) in the nose, (as) a drink, as an eyesalve, (as) an ointment, according to the appearance (of the patient?), he will become without poison.' Whichever women (there are) who are about to miscarry or are miscarrying, it must be smeared on their womb and administered to them.'

47r6 dadyā ṣṇana-vāraṇā : *grāmye uca jsa hūrāña :* rakṣa karṣū ca bālānāṃ *āysdärja tcairai ṣīkalakāṃ :* suprrajānāṃ prrajāyätte : *śara śarą*

47v1 *jsa pūra ysyārai cvai baida bīḍä :* yāvąd-artha varṣa pava : *caṃdai kṣamī hamayi bi' khāśe'* narvaṣau kūrvattą kṣaprrä : *naṣa'be'vai padīme thyau*

JP [2-3].19

(a) vasucakayāṃ ghaurāyāṃ : dadyā ṣṇana-vāraṇā :
rakṣa karṣū ca bāl̨ānāṃ suprrajānāṃ prrajāyätte :

(b) visūcikāyām ghorāyāṃ dadyād uṣṇena vāriṇā |
rakṣāṃ kuryāc ca bālānāṃ su-prajānāṃ prajāyinī |19|

(c) 'In the case of severe intestinal inertia, one should administer (this medicament) with hot water. And the bearer of good offspring would protect children (thereby).'

(d) ca vā pejsa vasuja ī : gr̨āmye uca jsa hūr̨āña :
āysdärja tcairai ṣīkalakāṃ : *śara-ṃ[1] jsa pūra ysyārai cvai baida bīḍä :

[1] **śara-ṃ* (Konow) for MS. *śara śara-ṃ*.

(e) 'Or if there should be severe intestinal inertia, (this medicament) must be administered with hot water. Children must be protected by her. Good sons will be born thereby if she carries it on her.'

47v2 *haṣṭa vī dīra na īdä :* vrraikṣa' aidrrārthänaryathā : *khu śakrrana paśā aśū'na bahya . bījeve tta ṣā' agada bījevākä :* bhagava-

47v3 ttau bhāṣitta svastakaṃ nāma mahāgada samāptta : *jasta be'ysäna hvava svastaka nāma agada dāśyā :::*

JP [2-3].20

(a) yāvad-artha varṣa pava : narvaṣau kūrvattą kṣaprrä :
vrraikṣa' aidrrārthänaryathā :

(b) †yāvad-arthaṃ viṣaṃ pibet nirviṣāṃ kurvīta kṣipram† |
..... vṛkṣān aindrāśanir yathā |20|

(c) 'If she should drink poison as appropriate, it will quickly make her without poison. As Indra's thunderbolt (destroys) trees ... '

(d) caṃdai kṣamī hamayi bi' khāśe' naṣa'be'vai padīme thyau haṣṭa-v-ī dīra na īdä :
khu śakrrana paśā aśū'na bahya . bījeve tta ṣā' agada bījevākä :

(e) '(If she) herself drinks as much poison as should please her, it will quickly make her without poison (and) she will not have the eight evils. As the thunderbolt hurled by Indra destroys trees, so (is) this medicament a destroyer (of diseases).'

JP [2-3].21

(a) bhagavattau bhāṣitta svastakạ-nạ̄ma mahāgada samāptta :

(b) bhagavatā bhāṣitaḥ svastika-nāmā mahāgadaḥ samāptaḥ

(c) The great medicament Svastika by name taught by the Lord is finished.

(d) jasta be'ysäna hvava svastaka nạ̄ma agada dāśyā :::

(e) The medicament Svastika by name taught by the Lord Buddha is finished.

Commentary

JP [1]

raṣa'yā in *saidha-vaidhyādarāṃ raṣa'yā* appears to be in apposition to *saidha-vaidhyādarāṃ*. Hoernle (1917: 427 n.2) considered *raṣa'yā* to be doubtful since it had no counterpart in the Sanskrit text. Bailey omitted it from his translation without comment. Konow (1941: 11) rendered 'Siddhavidyādhara ṛṣis'.

JP [2-3].1

For *brraṣmītta mai śrrūṇū* Hoernle reconstructs *yogavarṇaṃ* and likewise in [2-3].2 he has *tadvarṇaṃ* for *ttat śrruṇū*, in [2-3].6 he has *varṇaṃ* for *śrrūṇū*, and in [2-3].7 he has *varṇaṃ* for *śrūṇū*. In all places the Khotanese supports the reconstruction adopted here. Hoernle misread *śrr* as *brr* and did not understand the Khotanese *pū* 'hear'.

JP [2-3].2

As pointed out by Hoernle (1917: 424 n.7), the metre requires *paripela-* although both the Sanskrit and the Khotanese indicate the longer form *paripelava-*. The short form *paripela-* is attested in Śāligrāma.

uskātta uskātta occurs also in Si 1.25, where *uskātta uskātta *hīye ṣaṣạ̄me jsa* 'due to the inclusion of the former in the latter' corresponds to Skt. *uttarottara-saṃśleṣād*. Quite differently Bailey, who renders *uskātta uskātta *harbīśāṃ agadāṃ myạ̄ña : ayse ttā hvạ̄ñū* 'among all the medicines I will expound here those that are of the superior sorts'.

**harbīśāṃ* Hoernle, Konow, Bailey for MS. *rbīśāṃ* rendering Skt. *sarveṣām*.

JP [2-3].3

The insertion of *ca* in the first pāda *candanasya ca catvāraś* was proposed by Hoernle and Bailey. It would be a case of simple haplography. The insertion of *ca* also in the second pāda as proposed here is of course much less certain. Without it a syllable would be wanting: *catvāro 'guror x bhavet*.

The reconstruction of *catvāraś cāguror bhavet* for MS. *catvārau agarā bhavatte* is uncertain. The Khotanese *hami* appears to support the singular *bhavet*, but the syntax would appear to require the plural: 'let there be four (measures) ... . Hoernle's *catvāro agarā bhavet* seems to offer no solution.

JP [2-3].4

In Si 2.4 Skt. *vyāghra-* is rendered by Khotanese *vyāghrinakä* in a gaṇa in which Suśruta has *vyāghranakha*. It is said to be Euphorbia antiquorum Linn. (Meulenbeld 1974: 581).

The reconstruction of pādas cd as *pañcamotpala-kuṣṭhasya hiriverasya cāṣṭamam* is uncertain. I assume that *pañcamaḥ utpala-* has undergone a secondary contraction after developing regularly to *pañcama utpala*. Such secondary contractions are occasionally found. However, the real problem here is that the accusative *pañcamam* is expected like *aṣṭamam* at the end of the śloka. Such grammatical lapses are attested elsewhere in this text. Hoernle preferred to regard *pañca* or *pañcama* (1917: 424 n.8) and *aṣṭama* here as 'aggregatives, like *pañcaka* and *aṣṭaka*'. He reconstructed the pādas as *pañcam utpala-kuṣṭhasya hiriveraṃ ca aṣṭamam* or as *pañcamotpala-kuṣṭhasya hiriveraṃ ca aṣṭamam* (1917: 424). It is not clear to me why he was prepared to accept *hiriveraṃ* even if *aṣṭama* were an aggregative noun. In any case the genitive is quite consistently attested with the units of measure in this prescription. Emending to the genitive has the advantage that the hiatus in *ca aṣṭamam* has to be filled on metrical grounds unless the more usual form *hrīvera* (guaranteed by the metre in 108v5) is used instead of *hirivera*, which is the Pāli form.

JP [2-3].5

ątyattąna I have restored hesitantly as *etāny etāni* rather than *dravyāṇy etāni* with Hoernle although the Khotanese *arvi* 'drugs' could be considered to support *dravyāṇy*. However, the Khotanese *tta buri arvi harbiśa* appears to emphasise 'all' as *harbiśa* alone would have been a normal and adequate rendering of *sarvāṇi*. The repeated pronoun would seem to represent this nuance better as well as being graphically less divergent.

The reconstruction of *pīṣayayi* as *peṣayed* rather than as *pāyayed* with Hoernle seems virtually certain. At Si 6.41b 27.22b, 27.3b the Nepalese manuscripts all have *pī°* in *(pra)peṣayet*. In Caraka's Gandhahasti and Mahāgandhahasti prescriptions, which as Hoernle pointed out bear a certain resemblance to the Svastaka antidote, the drugs are pounded: *piṣṭvā* Ci. 23.71, *peṣyā* Ci. 23.82 (GAS). The verb appears to have been accidentally omitted in the Khotanese version.

JP [2-3].6

Note that *mantra-pada* appears to be masculine here.

In the Mahāgandhahasti prescription the only comparable mantra offered by Caraka is *hili-mili* (Ci. 23.94c GAS).

Hoernle takes *agattā yi ttauvi :* to be Khotanese and appears to regard *sidhyantu mantrāṇi svāha* as pāda 6c. However, it seems clear that the words *tadyathā ... svāhā* are the mantra referred to in 6d and have been written once only as applicable to both Sanskrit and Khotanese. *agattā yi ttauvi :* should therefore be what remains of the Sanskrit of 6c as recognised by Bailey, who prints it in his Sanskrit text as *agattā yi x ttau x vi :* There are no traces or blanks where he prints x, and I assume that x merely indicates that the metre requires two further syllables. *agattā* is evidently some form of *agada* remedy, as recognised by Hoernle and as confirmed by the Khotanese version. Nevertheless, I am unable at present to suggest a complete reconstruction of the line that takes account of *ttauvi*.

JP [2-3].7

I have restored *samāhyina* as *samādhinā* following Hoernle as the Khotanese *samāhye* does not necessarily render *samāhita*; cf. *samāhāna* rendering *samādhi*. Bailey, *Dict.* 400, reconstructs the pāda as *śuci-samāhitena bhūtvā*, which is unmetrical.

puṣya-yogena is confirmed by the Mahāgandhahasti (Caraka, Ci. 23.82b GAS).

Hoernle replaces *śrūṇū* by *varṇaṃ* without justification: see on [2-3].1 above.

surai-v-ī ... hamąña 'he must be pure' is undoubtedly correctly so analysed by Bailey, *Dict.* 400. Konow's *surai vī* 'in a clean place' is not plausible.

śinvāva was omitted (!) by Konow. It was read *śi tvāva* by Hoernle, which cannot be excluded. He appears to render *śi tvāva nāsąñä* as 'in one concentration of mind' or 'in one state (of mind) concentrated' (1917: 428), which he explains as being the thought 'I am Brahman' referring to the Śabdakalpadruma, v, 271, col. 3. This certainly suits the context and *śi* could be 'one', but the rest is obscure. Bailey, *Dict.* 400 s.v. *śinvāva* 'invalids (?)' has a fanciful etymological explanation of the word without any regard for the context.

JP [2-3].8

The reconstruction *samāsād agadottamaḥ* for *samāsāga-gattāttama* (rather than Hoernle's *samāsā[d] jagatottamaṃ*) is supported by the Khotanese *haṃbica jsa saṃ ṣā' agada pīrmāttama hvava*.

The Khotanese indicates clearly that the missing pāda 8d is in fact identical with 7d and was probably lost by haplography.

JP [2-3].9

lalāṭim ūpaye : must almost certainly be reconstructed as *lalāṭam upalepayet* in view of the Khotanese *haṃdrrauja pīsälyą*. I see no reason for Hoernle's *lalāṭa[taṭa]m upaye[t]*.

JP [2-3].10

In reconstructing *pūrnanākrraitta-vidhaka* as *pūtanā-kṛta-viddhakam* I have followed Hoernle's *pūtanākṛtavidhakaṃ* rather than his earlier *pūtanākṛtyavedhaka* (1917: 425). It is difficult to see what could have prompted the Khotanese rendering *būva u kūra hīra* 'Bhūtas and evil things'.

kākhordāś caiva for MS. *khākhaudāś viva* seems more likely than Hoernle's *khārkhodaṃ śvitaṃ* or *khārkhoda śvita* (1917: 425). I know of no support for *śvitaṃ* and the Khotanese *pātca* indicates rather *caiva*.

JP [2-3].11

su-praghātārtham seems indicated by the MS. reading *su-prrayāttārthaṃ*, there being graphically no great difference between *gh* and *y*. I do not know why Hoernle corrected *supraghātārthaṃ* (1917: 425) in his restored text to *suprayātārtham*.

I have restored *saṃyūhttaṃ* as *saṃyukte* rather than as *saṃyuktaṃ* (Hoernle) on account of the difficulty of construing *saṃyuktaṃ*. The locative is suggested by the following *viṣa-pīteṣu* and the two parallel subordinate clauses of the Khotanese.

Late Khotanese *bi ā ī* is for Old Khotanese *bei' ātä īyä*.

JP [2-3].12

Hoernle reconstructed *āyū-vaṣi-dūṣattä* as *āyur viṣeṇa dūṣyate* (1917: 425), which he rendered 'life by its poison is endangered' (1917: 428). However, Bailey's *āyū<dha>vaṣi* is certainly correct since it assumes only a virtual haplography due to the similarity of *dha* and *va* and does not require emendation of *vaṣi* to *viṣeṇa*. Moreover, Khotanese *prraharaṇḍyau jsa* 'by weapons' supports *āyudha* very strongly here.

The Khotanese *tta narva* 'thus pierced' (so P.O. Skjærvø, *Studies II*, 67) looks suspect. Konow does not render *tta* unless he takes it as the demonstrative with the preceding *aṃga*. Bailey, *Dict.* s.v. *narūj-* quotes only *narva ha'tcasta u hvasta*, which he renders 'burst, broken and beaten'. The position of *tta* makes it unlikely that it is the demonstrative pronoun, yet *tta* 'thus' does not appear to yield much sense. Moreover, if the reconstruction of *bana* as *bāṇa* is correct, we would expect *ttanarva* to mean 'arrow'. On the other hand, *ha'tcasta* 'broken' is not ideal with 'arrow'; we expect rather *bista* 'pierced'. It is of course possible that the Khotanese translator took *bana* to be for *bhinna* 'split' and rendered it by *narva* even if *bana* had been intended for *bāṇa*.

JP [2-3].13

sakhalyāña can hardly be the part. nec. as indicated by Bailey, *Dict. 326* s.v. *mase*, who cites from this passage *sakhalyāña masvāña* and renders it 'to be smeared only'. It must be the oblique singular corresponding to the oblique pl. *saṃkhalūñāṃ jsa* occurring in Bcd 45r2 (9).

vrraṇa-dīṣā is to be restored as *vraṇa-doṣāt*, not *vraṇa-doṣaḥ* with Hoernle, as the Khotanese instr.-abl. *gaṃjsa jsa* indicates.

prrāṇā is rendered 'living beings' by Hoernle and 'beings' by Konow. In Khotanese *prrāṇaa-* is used exclusively of small animals or insects. Thus in JS 27v4 (122) it is used of *gode* 'lizard', in JS 28r2 (123) of *drrvaṇe* 'scorpions', in JS 30r1-2 (131) in connection with *kave khuysā* 'fishes (and) tortoises', and in JS 30v3 (134) of *kurme* 'tortoise'. In Si 26.41 *khadyauttą prāṇai* is the *khadyota* insect.

Hoernle (1917: 425) restored *drraiṣṭā sya* as *kleśāṃ[ḥ] syā[d]* and later as *kleśā[ḥ] syu[r]* although he considered *drraiṣṭā* to represent *klaiṣṭā*. It is not clear to me why Hoernle regarded the Khotanese *āphīḍa* as supporting his restoration. The choice lies, as far as I can see, between *duṣṭāḥ syur* and *kliṣṭāḥ syur*.

JP [2-3].14

The restoration of *vaṣṭa-māttrāṇi* as *duṣṭa-mātrāṇi* is suggested by Khotanese *dūṣṭa-masu*. Hoernle's *uṣṭa-mātrāṇi*, which he rendered 'like fire', was a mere guess.

The restoration of *apavaṣāvryā* (so read with Bailey, not *apavaṣākhyā* as Hoernle) as *viṣāpavṛttaye* is suggested by the Khotanese rendering *ttyāṃ hīyai pā be' pahaiśąe'*. Hoernle considered **14b** to be 'irremediably corrupt' (1917: 423 n.3).

Khotanese *herī* here may be by haplography for *herī vī* 'ever' if it is not simplified from a contracted *hervī*. It was not translated by Hoernle or Konow. *herī ... na* renders Skt. *nityaṃ ... na*.

JP [2-3].15

In 1917: 426 Hoernle restored *pūnayäśta* as *pūtayaś ca* on the basis of the Khotanese *pātca pātcī upadrrava*, and in view of the graphic similarity of *n* and *t* this restoration is quite convincing. Later he considered *pūni* to be an otherwise unattested synonym of *upadrava*.

vabai' corresponds to Khotanese *be'na* and is likely to represent Skt. *viṣa* as recognised already by Hoernle (1917: 426 n.3). *bai'* appears to be the Khotanese word for *viṣa*.

That *vaṣa-ṣvastā* is to be restored as *viṣa-suptā* seems clear in view of the Khotanese *bi'na umya*. Hoernle (1917: 426 n.3) recognised the equivalence of *umya* and Skt. *supta*, but considered the MS. too corrupt to restore.

su-śąṇättā would appear to represent *su-śoṇitāḥ*, but the context and the Khotanese rendering *āphīḍe hūña jsä* 'with disturbed blood' indicate rather *duḥ-śoṇitāḥ*.

JP [2-3].16

For *teṣāṃ kākapadaṃ mūrdhni kṛtvā* cf. *mūrdhni kākapadam asya kṛtvā* (Caraka, Ci. 23.66bc GAS). For *kākapada* cf. Suśruta, Ka. 2.43c = Ah., Utt. 35.20c = As., Utt. 40.54c = As., Utt. 40.172a; Suśruta, Ka. 5.24a, 45a; Vāgbhaṭa, Ah., Utt. 36.78b = As., Utt. 42.73ab; As., Utt. 42.56d; Caraka, 23.66b, 67c GAS. Ḍalhaṇa ad Caraka, Ci. 23.66 explains *kākapada* as *kākapadākāraṃ vraṇam* and Indu ad As., Utt. 40,172 has *śirasi śastreṇa kākapadaṃ kṛtvā*. That the *kākapada* is an incision made with a knife is clear clear also from Ah., Utt. 36.78ab (= As., Utt. 42.73ab) *kṛtvāvagāḍhaṃ śastreṇa mūrdhni kākapadaṃ tataḥ*. The Khotanese renders *kākapada* as *vasalaka*, which Bailey, *Dict.* s.v. defines as 'mark made by smearing' suggesting a formally not impossible etymology < **ava-sard-*. In the JS *veselake* is an ornamental mark (= *tilaka* according to Bailey) on the forehead of a king (28r4) or of a queen (33v3 not 37v3 as *Dict.*). Degener, *Suffixe*, 307 suggests that *vasalakă-* may be an Indian loanword and compares Sanskrit *śrīvatsa*, which is itself attested in Khotanese (P 2787.69 *KT* 2.104). *vasalakă-* can hardly be an extension of Sanskrit *vatsala-* 'affectionate, loving', which is why she lists the word under Khotanese *-laka-*suffixes. However, the absence of *śrī* seems a serious obstacle to this explanation. Whatever the etymology of *vasalakă-*, it is unlikely to refer to an incision, but it may have designated a mark having a particular shape, namely that of a *svastika*, the well-known auspicious cross, which indeed gives its name to this medicament ([2-3].21). In fact, the *kākapada* appears to have had this shape as the Tibetan translation of Vāgbhaṭa's Ah. has *rgya-gram* at both occurrences of *kākapada* (Ah., Utt. 35.20 tr. *rgya-gram* Peking 298a4; Ah., Utt. 36.78 tr. *rgya-gram* Peking 303b3), and this is said in S.C. Das's Tibetan—English dictionary to be 'the *svastika* sign'.

The restoration of *dadyāgadauttā* poses serious difficulty. *dadyā* appears clearly to indicate *dadyāt*, which in fact follows in the Caraka passage cited above. However, if *dadyād* is read, it is not possible to accommodate *agada* in the remaining four syllables, which require ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒. Hoernle (1917: 426) reconstructed *dadyād gadāntakam*, but that would assume the Khotanese translator was mistaken in seeing here *agada*. I prefer accordingly to assume that *dadyā* is an erroneous replacement of *deyā* as in 16c. The Khotanese would support *deyā* in both places, and in the latter the grammar requires it.

tcerā ttera vīra seems to be a superfluous imperfect repetition of the preceding *tcerā ttera baidä*.

JP [2-3].17

In restoring *agadenavalīpenä* as *agadenāvalimpeta* I more or less follow Hoernle's *agadena ca limpeta*, but the Khotanese does not encourage *ca*. A reconstruction closer to the MS. reading that would be metrically correct for the first pāda of a śloka would be *agadenāvalepena*, and this would be supported by the Khotanese. It seems however not to go well with the following pāda, if the latter is really to be restored as *tataḥ saṃjīvati suptaḥ* with Hoernle. I see no way to restore *ttatta saṃjīvattą supttaṃ :* as the regular second pāda of a śloka even though the Khotanese version supports Hoernle's restoration as *tataḥ saṃjīvati suptaḥ*.

The restoration of *ttra-bū-kīdättą* as *tṛṇa-bhū-kīṭakair* was proposed by Bailey, *Dict.* s.v. *gūṇā*. *-kīdättą* suggests rather the singular *-kīṭena*, but for metrical reasons as well as on account of the Khotanese *-kīṭakair* is preferable. The restoration of *ttra* as *tṛṇa-bhū-* finds strong support in Khotanese *ysąysajā*. The restoration of *veśte* as *vṛści-kaiḥ* was proposed by Bailey, *Dict.* s.v. *drroṇve*.

Although the original Sanskrit probably had *daṣṭaḥ* here, it appears to me to be clear that the Khotanese translator thought it was *duṣṭaḥ* although Bailey, *Dict.* s.v. *duṣṭa-* 'stung' even regards the Khotanese *dūrṣṭą* and *dūṣṭa* here as Iranian in origin. In this he was followed by Degener, *Suffixe*, 233. However, it is difficult to see how **dans-* could develop to **duns-*. Bailey compares the development of **dams-* to *duns-* in Ossetic but there the labialisation of *a* is readily accounted for by *m*. The intrusive *-r-* in *dūrṣṭą* is easier to accept in a loanword. Note above [2-3].13 *drraiṣṭā* for *duṣṭāḥ*. In [2-3].14 above the Khotanese has *dūṣṭa-masu* for *duṣṭa-mātrāṇi*, which shows that the loanword *duṣṭa-* was well established.

gūṇā is clearly borrowed from Prakrit *guṇa-* 'wood-worm', Sanskrit *ghuṇa-* as in Suśruta, Sū. 9.4 *ghuṇopahata-kāṣṭha*.

For *lūtā-mūṣaka-* cf. *viṣa-mūṣika-lūtānāṃ* Caraka, Ci. 23.84 (GAS).

JP [2-3].18

For *pānāñjanālepād* cf. *pānāñjana-pralepaiḥ* Caraka, Ci. 23.82c (GAS).

For *mūḍha-garbhāṇāṃ yoni-lepaṃ pradāpayet* cf. *yonau lepaś ca mūḍha-garbhāṇām* Caraka, Ci. 23.86 (GAS).

JP [2-3].19

vasuja is here a loanword corresponding to Sanskrit *visūcikā*, which Meulenbeld (1974: 272 ff.) renders 'intestinal inertia'.

JP [2-3].20

'yāvad-arthaṃ viṣaṃ pibet nirviṣāṃ kurvīta kṣipram' is metrically obscure, although the reconstruction seems clear.

The meaning of *haṣṭa-v-ī dīra na īdä*, which is apparently without counterpart in the Sanskrit text, is not clear to me. Hoernle (1917: 429) rendered it 'in this there is no failure' and Konow (1941: 15) 'the eight wrong positions (of the foetus) are absent'. Konow read *vīdīra*, which according to his glossary means 'wrong position of the foetus' (1941: 100). I have been unable to account for his interpretation. The sentence could either mean 'it does not do the eight evils to her' if *īdä* is here the Late Khotanese form of *yīndä* 'it make, does' or else 'she does not have the eight evils' if *īdä* is here the Late Khotanese form of *īndä* 'they are' as Konow evidently assumed.

For *vṛkṣān aindrāśanir yathā* cf. *gaja iva tarūn viṣa-gadān nihanty agada-gandhahasty eṣaḥ* Caraka, Ci. 23.76cd (GAS).

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On the *Dravyaguṇasaṅgraha* of Cakrapāṇidatta

PRIYA VRAT SHARMA

Materia Medica is not included in the eight traditional divisions of Āyurveda. The reason for this is explained in the *Carakasaṃhitā* (*Car*), which says that materials with their properties and actions are to be dealt with in the entire text[1] (as they are concerned everywhere with health and disease) and as such it is difficult to treat of them under a separate heading. The text goes even further by saying that Āyurveda is nothing but that which deals with wholesome and unwholesome materials.

We do not find any separate text on Materia Medica in the early period of Indian medicine. Texts of this genre seem initially to have been composed on the lines of the Vedic Nighaṇṭus, containing only the synonyms (*paryāya*s) of materials. Later on properties, actions, and uses were also added. In the former category (Nāmanighaṇṭu) fall the *Aṣṭāṅganighaṇṭu*, *Paryāyaratnamālā*, *Dravyāvali*, *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa*, *Hṛdayadīpaka* and *Śivakośa*. In the latter category are the *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu*, *Soḍhalanighaṇṭu*, *Mādhavadravyaguṇa*, *Madanavinoda*, *Kaiyadevanighaṇṭu*, *Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*, *Rājavallabhanighaṇṭu* and *Śāligrāmanighaṇṭu*.

Apart from his commentaries *Āyurvedadīpikā* (on *Car*) and *Bhānumatī* (on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* <*Suśr*>) and his independent medical work *Cikitsāsaṅgraha* or *Cakradatta*, Cakrapāṇidatta (Cpd) also composed a separate treatise on Materia Medica entitled *Dravyaguṇasaṅgraha* or *Dravyaguṇa* (*DG*)[2] which falls in the second category. The *Śabdacandrikā*, containing only synonyms of materials and as such falling in the first category, is also said to be one of the works of Cpd. I have however shown elsewhere that this work cannot have been composed by him.[3]

From a perusal of the contents of *DG* it appears that in this collection chiefly *Car* and to a lesser extent *Suśr* have been utilised by the author. Regarding other details, it is difficult to say from what sources these are drawn, or even whether they are the author's own creation. This needs further research. It is also evident that there is a definite impact of regional traditions and practices on the work.

DG contains descriptions of materials and other allied topics relating to diet only and not of drugs. The reason given in the introductory verse is that the kings (who were the patrons of eminent physicians) wanted to know about the properties and effects of edible items, probably so that they could manage their diet accordingly in order to maintain health and prevent disorders.[4]

The text begins with basic concepts such as *rasa*, *vīrya* and *vipāka* (described according to *Car*), which are essential for the knowledge of dietetics. Then the material is divided into the following categories: (1) Dhānyavarga, (2) Māṃsavarga, (3) Śākavarga, (4) Lavaṇādivarga, (5) Phalavarga, (6) Pānīyavarga, (7) Kṣīravarga, (8) Tailavarga,

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[1] *Car.*, Sū 30.23: *tatrāyuṣyāṇy anāyuṣyāṇi ca dravyaguṇakarmāṇi kevalenopadekṣyante tantreṇa.*

[2] Edited with the commentary of Śivadāsasena by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta ^{2}1897.

[3] See *Śabdacandrikā*, ed. by P.V. Sharma, New Delhi 1989, 4-8.

[4] *prāyaḥ pṛcchanti yatreśās tad dravyaguṇasaṅgrahaḥ*
dhāraṇasmaraṇonmukho yathā syāl likhyate mayā.

(9) Aikṣavādivarga, (10) Madyādivarga, (11) Kṛtānnavarga, (12) Bhakṣyavarga, (13) Āhāravidhi, (14) Anupānavidhi.

Āhāravidhi is mostly taken from *Suśr*, the portion on physiology, however, from *Car*. The latter includes the physiology of digestion and metabolism and also the importance of food. In the end, there are certain items like the description of *guṇa*s (according to *Suśr*), matters relating to daily life, properties of air, fire, land, seasons and general instructions about health-promoting items.

DG, though known now for a long time, has not yet been studied in detail, especially with regard to its contribution to Indian Materia Medica. I shall therefore give a brief overview of its most striking features in this respect.

In Dhānyavarga we find *tuvarī* mentioned where both *Car* and *Suśr* have *āḍhakī*.[5] *Vanyakulattha* is not described in *Car*, but *Suśr* has described it after *kulattha*, evidently as a variety of this. *DG*, following *Suśr*, has mentioned it briefly, giving only its specific use in eye diseases, while *Suśr* has described it elaborately.[6] Similarly, for properties and effects of *tila*, the verse concerned is borrowed from *Suśr*.[7]

Describing the meat of the hare (*śaśa*) Cpd has used the word *vātasādhāraṇa*,[8] which is interpreted as 'that which neither aggravates nor pacifies *vāta*'.[9] This is significant in the face of the fact that *Car* has recommended its use in *sannipāta* having *vāta* in the least degree where the above type of action is required.[10] This has been picked up by other mediaeval authors too. Keśava terms it as *udāsīna* and has a fixed category of drugs on this basis.[11] Ḍalhaṇa explains '*sarvadoṣasaham*' (*Suśr.*, Sū 46.214) as a variant of '*sarvadoṣaharam*' in the same sense.

Mutton, according to *Car*, is like goat's flesh (not aggravating *kapha*), but pacifies *pitta* due to *madhura rasa* and *śīta vīrya* (*Car.*, Sū 27.62). *Suśr* has mentioned it as alleviating both *kapha* and *pitta* (*Suśr.*, Sū 46.88), and the same is followed by *DG*.[12] Ḍalhaṇa, however, quotes Vāpyacandra as reading '*pittaśleṣmāvaham*' and, interpreting this to

[5] *DG* 1.30; cf. *Car.*, Sū 27.33, *Suśr.*, Sū 46.31.

[6] *DG* 1.33 (*vanyaḥ kulatthas tadvac ca viśeṣān netraroganut*); cf. *Suśr.*, Sū 46.38.

[7] *DG* 1.35; cf. *Suśr.*, Sū 46.39-40.

[8] *DG* 2.4 (*nātiśītalavīryatvād vātasādhāraṇo mataḥ*).

[9] *vātasādhāraṇa iti — vātasya cayaṃ śamaṃ ca na karotīty arthaḥ* (Śivadāsa on the above).

[10] *Car.*, Sū 27.77 (*sannipāte 'nilāvare*).

[11] Keśava in his *Siddhamantra* (edited with the *Prakāśa* commentary of Vopadeva by P.V. Sharma, Varanasi 1977), 1.6-8.

[12] *DG* 2.6 (*meṣasya madhuraṃ māṃsaṃ pittaśleṣmaharaṃ guru*).

mean that it increases *pitta* and *kapha*, but not markedly, accepts this view.[13] Śivadāsa has rejected it.[14]

Fish (a popular dish in Bengal, from which region Cpd hailed) has been described in detail. In this connection Cpd has at one place used the peculiar word *malalomana* denoting '*anulomana* of *mala*s', *lomana* being the abbreviated form of *anulomana*.[15]

Śāka (vegetable) is described as of six types: (1) leafy, (2) flowery, (3) fruity, (4) stalky, (5) tuberous, (6) mushroom (originating from humid heat) (*DG* 3.2). This classification is followed by later authors like Bhāvamiśra.[16] Moreover, the author felt himself free to describe vegetables popular in his region. Some of them are as follows:

1. *Hilamocikā* (*Enhydra fluctuans* Lour.): This is described as laxative, pacifying *kapha* and *pitta* and efficacious in *kuṣṭha* (*DG* 3.12). It is absent in the Bṛhattrayī. In Bengali it is known as *hiñce*.[17]
2. *Sunişaṇṇaka* (*Marsilea minuta* Linn.): A well known potherb in Bengal, called *śuśni śāk*.[18] Ḍalhaṇa, a resident of Northern India, got confused in its identification as he took it to be *sirivālikā*, which is correctly *Celosia argentea* Linn.[19] Brahmadeva knew it well and defined its characteristics in a verse often quoted by later commentators.[20] *Sunişaṇṇaka* is described as *saṅgrāhin* (checking excretions), *avidāhin* (non-burning) and alleviating the three *doṣa*s (*DG* 3.14).
3. *Kāñcaṭa*: *Kāñcaṭa* is bitter, checks excretions and is useful in *raktapitta* (intrinsic haemorrhage) (*DG* 3.23). In Bengali it is known as *kā̃c'rādām* and has been identified as *Jussiaea repens* Linn.[21]
4. *Grīşmasundaraka*: This is popularly known as *gīmāśāk*. It has been identified as *Mollugo spergula* Linn.[22] It is bitter, increases appetite and pacifies *kapha* and *pitta* (*DG* 3.28). *Gīmāśāk* can be seen (today e.g. in vegetable markets at Calcutta) abundantly in summer, which probably explains its name *grīşmasundaraka* (blossoming in summer).

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[13] Ḍalhaṇa's commentary on *Suśr.*, Sū 46.88.

[14] *tatra kvacit pustake pittaśleşmakaram iti pāṭho dṛśyate, sa ca pramādapāṭha eva. ... vāpyacandras tu pittaśleşmāvaham iti paṭhati vyācaşṭe ca. ... tad apy anādaraṇīyam uktayukter eva* (Śivadāsa's commentary on *DG* 2.6).

[15] *DG* 2.godhādi.16.

[16] *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*, Śākavarga 1.

[17] Śibakālī Bhaṭṭācārya, *Cirañjīb banauşadhi*, pt. 2, Calcutta [3]1982, 10-14.

[18] Ibid., pt. 1, p.71.

[19] *sunişaṇṇakaḥ siribālikā iti loke* (Ḍalhaṇa's commentary on *Suśr.*, Sū 46.262).

[20]
cāṅgerīsadṛśaiḥ pattraiḥ sunişaṇṇaś caturdalaḥ
śāko jalānvite deśe catuşpatrīti kathyate.

This verse is quoted by Ḍalhaṇa l.c.; see also Vopadeva's commentary on *Siddhamantra*, verse 134.

[21] Kālīpada Biśbās, *Bhāratīya banauşadhi*, Calcutta 1950, 226 (item no. 262).

[22] Ibid., p.250 (item no. 291).

5. *Nāḍīca* (*DG* 3.29): This is the jute plant commonly grown in North-east India and regionally known as *nar'cā*. The leaves are eaten as a vegetable. *Corchorus capsularis* Linn. and *C. olitorius* Linn. are the two species from which jute fibres are extracted.[23]
6. *Māṇaka*[24] (*Alocasia indica (Roxb.) Schott*): *Māṇaka* is prevalent in Bengal both as a drug and as part of the diet. It is also described by *Suśr* (Sū 46.306).
7. *Bhūkanda*: The verse on this has been borrowed from *Ah.*, Sū 6.114.[25] It is described with *sūraṇa* because of their similarity in being tuberous but with a contrast in properties as the former is wholesome particularly in piles, whereas the latter has enormous demerits. Śivadāsa comments that *bhūkanda* is the tuber commonly grown in villages and described as *sthalakanda* in *Suśr* (Sū 46.306).[26] Aruṇadatta however interprets it as a mushroom.[27]*Bhūkanda* as intended by Ḍalhaṇa and Śivadāsa seems to be that which is known now as *jamīn'kand* or *kandā*.[28] Its stems are also used as a vegetable; they are popular in the eastern part of India.
8. *Kaccī*[29]: This may be the present *kacchū* or *arvī* (*Colocasia esculenta (Linn.) Schott*).
9. *Suśr* (Sū 46.310) has described only the pith of the head (of the stem) of the palm, date and coconut trees used as vegetables, but *DG* also mentions the same of the *guvāka* (betel-nut tree),[30] which also grows in Bengal and Assam apart from other coastal regions.
10. The stalks (*nāḍikā*) of fruits (generally cucurbitaceous) are commonly used as vegetables in Bengal. In *DG* we find descriptions of *kūṣmāṇḍanāḍī* (*DG* 3.43) and *alābūnāḍī* (*DG* 3.48).
11. Bengalis are also fond of using flowers of different plants as vegetables. The properties of most of these are described in *Suśr* (Sū 46.281-289). The use of *agastya* flowers in night-blindness is mentioned in *DG* as in *Suśr.*[31] In one of its verses

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[23] *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Delhi 1950, Vol. II, 326-327; 337.

[24] *DG* 3.hastyālukādi.10; see *māṇakaghṛta* in the treatment of *śotha* in *Cakradatta*.

[25] *DG* 3.hastyālukādi.9 (*bhūkandas tv atidoṣalaḥ*).

[26] Śivadāsa's commentary on the above. The Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition of *Suśr* reads *sthūlakanda* instead of *sthalakanda*. The latter however looks correct also because *sthala* is nearer to *bhū*.

[27] In his commentary on *Ah.*, Sū 6.114 (*bhūkandaḥ bhūsphotākhyaḥ prāvṛḍudbhavaḥ prasiddha eva*).

[28] It is also known as *baṇḍā* in Uttar Pradesh and adjoining areas.

[29] *DG* 3.hastyālukādi.12.

[30] Ibid. 15.

[31] *DG* 3.hastyālukādi.19 (*naktāndhānāṃ ca śasyate*).

DG reads *rājavṛkṣa* in the place of *raktavṛkṣa* of *Suśr*,[32] perhaps because the flowers of the former are more common than those of the latter in Bengal.

At the end of this chapter, the demerits of vegetables are enumerated in two concluding stanzas which are borrowed as such in the *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*.[33]

In Lavaṇādivarga the description of *sitamarica* (white pepper) has been borrowed by *DG* from *Suśr.* (*DG* 4.18). Ḍalhaṇa and Śivadāsa comment that it is the seed of *śobhāñjana* (*Moringa oleifera* Lam.) while others take it to be decorticated black pepper.[34]

In the chapter on fruits too we find items peculiar to the author's time and region. The following are noteworthy:

1. *Madhukukkuṭī* or *madhukarkaṭī* (*DG* 5.25): This is not found in ancient texts. It is described at the end of the passage on citrus fruits, which suggests that it has a similar character. It has been identified as *Citrus maxima* (Burm.) Merr., commonly known as *cakotarā*. Śivadāsa explains it as that which is popularly known as *makhura*, larger than *mātuluṅga*, with more flesh and less *keśara*.[35]
2. *Car* has described *vṛkṣāmla* and *amlavetasa* (Sū 27.151-152), and *Suśr* in their place has mentioned *tintiḍīka* and *vetraphala* (Sū 46.139). Due to this one would naturally be inclined to think that *vṛkṣāmla* and *tintiḍīka* are the same entity and that *vetraphala* denotes the fruit of *amlavetasa*. It seems that *Suśr* has taken *vetra* and *vetasa* as synonymous and, thus being confused on this issue, has perhaps due to this not described the properties of *vetraphala* along with those of other similar fruits.[36] *DG* however has taken a composite view and has described, besides *tintiḍīka*, both *amlavetasa* and *vetraphala* (*DG* 5.14-15 and 5.20). It is possible that what might be meant are the fruits of *vetra* (*Calamus* sp.), which are also eaten.[37]

   In the identification of *tintiḍīka* almost all Bengali commentators are unanimous in taking it to be *vṛkṣāmla* and in further identifying it as *mahārdraka*,[38]

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[32] Ibid. 20; *Suśr.*, Sū 46.284 has *raktavṛkṣa* which is interpreted by Ḍalhaṇa as *raktacandana*.

[33] *DG* 3.hastyālukādi.29-30, *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*, Śākavarga 3-4.

[34] *sitaṃ maricaṃ śobhāñjanabījam, anye tu maricam eva śuklaṃ vadanti* (Śivadāsa's commentary on the above); also Ḍalhaṇa's commentary on *Suśr*, Sū 46.225.

[35] *madhukukkuṭī 'makhura' iti khyātā, mātuluṅgāpekṣayā mahāpramāṇā bahumāṃsālpakeśarā* (Śivadāsa on the above). See also my *Āyurved kā vaijñānik itihās*, Varanasi ^{2}1981, 381.

[36] In *Suśr.*, Sū 42.11, under the Amlavarga, both *amlavetasa* and *vetraphala* are mentioned along with *tintiḍīka*. See the discussion on *amlavetasa* in my *Dravyaguṇavijñāna*, Vol. V, Varanasi 1981, 23.

[37] J.D. Hooker, *Flora of India*, Vol. VI, reprint Dehra Dun 1973, 336-362; *Wealth of India* (op. cit.), 11-13.

[38] Śivadāsa has interpreted *tintiḍīka* as *mahārdraka* (commentary on *DG* 5.15, *Cakradatta* gulma.34) and also *vṛkṣāmla* as *mahārdraka* (commentary on *Cakradatta* grahaṇī.33), taking *tintiḍīka* and *vṛkṣāmla* to be one. Cpd in his commentary on *Car.*, Sū 27.151 has also taken *vṛkṣāmla* to be *mahārdraka*. Niścalakara in his commentary on Cakradatta also interprets *vṛkṣāmla* as *mahārdraka* (6.31, 16.22, 25.65). Ḍalhaṇa (not a native of Bengal) also interprets *tintiḍīka* as *vṛkṣāmla* in his commentary on *Suśr.*, Sū 46.139. *Car* (Vi 8.140) however mentions *vṛkṣāṃla* and *tintiḍīka* together, thus making them different.

which seems to be *āmādā* (*Curcuma amada* Roxb.). This is sour and slightly bitter and is used as pickles in Bengal,[39] but the identification is untenable as *mahārdraka* is a tuber, whereas *vṛkṣāṃla* is described as one of the fruits.

3. *Anupākī*: The fruit of *anupākī* is mentioned as sweet, alleviating *vāta* and *pitta* (*DG* 5.31). Śivadāsa has interpreted it as *anuyā* (*anuyā iti khyātam*).[40] The description of *anupākī* in *DG* might be helpful in correcting the reading of *Car.*, Sū 27.163. This verse of *Car* runs: *madhurāṇy amlapākīni pittaśleṣmaharāṇi ca.* Commenting on this Cpd says: *anupāki 'anuyā' iti khyātā*, which suggests that, in fact, the reading should correctly be *madhurāṇy anupākīni pittaśleṣmaharāṇi ca* (with a neuter noun *anupāki*, as Cpd's commentary also seems to presume), which also seems reasonable because in the former reading all the words are adjectives without any noun, due to which the entire line stands irrelevant between *ākṣikī* and ficus fruits.

   But even if the reading of *Car* is changed as above, an anomaly remains regarding the effect on the *doṣa*s. According to *Car* we would have a pacifier of *pitta* and *śleṣman*, whereas *DG* says that *vāta* and *pitta* are alleviated. Here *pitta* is common to both, but of *vāta* and *śleṣman* only one can stay as they are *doṣa*s contrary to each other. Looking at the *rasa* of the fruit, which is *madhura*, *DG*'s version seems to be more convincing.

4. Seed-marrows of different fruits have been described by *DG* on the lines of *Suśr.*[41] They are not found in *Car* and *Ah*.

Among beverages, coconut-water is described in *DG* as in *Suśr.* (*DG* 6.25). Accordingly it is *guru* (heavy). However, Jejjaṭa reads *laghu* instead of *guru*, as Ḍalhaṇa tells us.[42] Cpd in his commentary on *Suśr* criticises this as illogical in the face of the mentioned *madhura*, *vṛṣya* and *snigdha* properties (which are *guru*), also ruling out a deduction to this effect on the basis of *prabhāva.*[43] But, as Ḍalhaṇa explains, *laghu* here is in the context of digestion (easily digestible) and not in that of the effect on the body.[44] *DG* describes the nature of coconut-water as heavy and wind-forming (*DG* 6.26).

Apart from the water of coconuts, which are common in the coastal region, *DG* has described the properties of the water obtained from the palm-fruit and tender betel-nut (*DG* 6.26-27). But since Śivadāsa has not commented on these, it is difficult to say more on this topic.

Of butter-milk *Car* has described three types according to fat content: (1) fatless, (2) with medium fat, (3) with full fat (*Car*, Ci 14.84). *Suśr*, however, mentions only two types: (1) *takra*, (2) *ghola*. The former is a mixture with half water and with the fat

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[39] Biśbāś, op. cit., p.536 (item no. 575). Gaṅgādhara's *amlārdraka* (see his commentary *Jalpakalpataru* on *amlikā* in *Car.*, Sū 27.29) may be the same as *mahārdraka* or *āmādā*.

[40] The plant *anuyā* has not been identified.

[41] *DG* 5.49-53. Cf. *Suśr.*, Sū 46.205-208.

[42] Ḍalhaṇa's commentary on *Suśr.*, Sū 45.44.

[43] Cpd's commentary on *Suśr.*, Sū 45.46; see also Śivadāsa's commentary on *DG* 6.25.

[44] *laghutvaṃ ca śīghrapariṇāmitvam* (Ḍalhaṇa on *Suśr.*, Sū 45.44).

eliminated by churning etc.; it is neither too thick nor too dilute, is sweet-sour-astringent in taste. The latter is that which is churned without adding water and has full fat content (*Suśr.*, Sū 45.85.). *DG* describes four types: (1) *ghola* (waterless with full fat), (2) *takra* (with ¼ water), (3) *udaśvit* (with ½ water), (4) *mathita* (fatless) (*DG* 7.30).

In the chapter on sugars, there is a description of *tamarāja* or *tavarāja* as one of the states of sugar (*DG* 9.12). Śivadāsa while explaining this says that Ḍalhaṇa has interpreted it as a type of *śarkarā* (sugar),[45] but, in fact, Ḍalhaṇa takes it to be the same as *śarkarā* or *sitopalā*.[46] Cpd does not comment on this. The *Rājanighaṇṭu* holds it to be *khaṇḍasāra* or *khaṇḍamodaka*,[47] which denote that it is the product of *khaṇḍa* and a mass like *modaka* (bolus). *Tavarāja* is not found in earlier texts.

At the end of Madyādivarga *DG* has included human urine as the ninth sort in the group of animal urines (*DG* 10.38). This has been borrowed entirely from *Suśr.*

In Bengal the staple food of the populace is rice in various forms. In rural areas one very common form is known as *bāsī bhāt* (cooked rice kept overnight), which is relished with water and spices. *DG* has described this as *vyuṣitapāniyabhakta* (*DG* 11.16). We also find *gholabhakta* (rice mixed with butter-milk) (*DG* 11.14).

In the context of *anupāna*, the dose of the liquid vehicle used with drugs in diseases is mentioned as one, two and three *palas* in *kaphaja*, *vātaja* and *pittaja* disorders respectively (*DG* 14.22).

Of hand-fans, those made of palm-leaf and bamboo chips, common in rural areas, are described. The air of the former is said to pacify the three *doṣas* (*DG* 15.22).

Abbreviations

Ah	*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*	*DG*	*Dravyaguṇasaṅgraha*
Cpd	Cakrapāṇidatta	*Suśr*	*Suśrutasaṃhitā*
Ci	Cikitsāsthāna	Sū	Sūtrasthāna
Car	*Carakasaṃhitā*	Vi	Vimānasthāna

[45] *tamarājaḥ śarkarābheda iti ḍalvaṇaḥ.*

[46] *śarkarā sitopalā 'tavarāja' iti loke* (Ḍalhaṇa on *Suśr.*, Sū 45.162).

[47] *Rājanighaṇṭu* 14.165-166.

Diagnosis and Therapy of Psychosomatic Diseases in Present-Day Āyurvedic Medicine

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Preliminary remarks

Āyurveda, the traditional medical system of India, not only has a verifiable history of about 2000 years, but is also very much alive at present, and established with great variety.

Of course, Āyurveda as a medical system has undergone manifold changes in the course of its history. To deal more thoroughly with this question (which includes the problem, hardly ever touched upon, of the actual relation of the system as it is practised today with the one presupposed by the classical texts) would be beyond the scope of this article (see Schmädel 1989 and Roşu 1982). "Āyurveda" in the context of this article refers basically to the modern system; ***the classical system, when it is mentioned, is to be understood as being as the modern system sees it*** — an independent evaluation of the classical system to find out what it actually was like was not part of our research project.

The difficulties in giving a presentation on diagnosis and therapy of psychosomatic diseases in present-day Āyurvedic practice and, along with that, in discussing the position of psychosomatics in Āyurveda, start with the fact that even with regard to the modern system the term "Āyurvedic medicine" needs some clarification. Between 200,000 to 400,000 Āyurvedic practitioners are reported to practise medicine in India. Their professional education varies from a physician's doctoral degree (after having completed university education) to a village elder's knowledge of medicinal herbs and remedies along with usage of Āyurvedic terminology.

The differences in Āyurvedic practice reflect the differences in education. College education in Āyurvedic medicine has been standardised since 1972 as regards duration and curriculum. The examination is standardised, too: the questions posed to the students are the same all over India. These are the formal regulations; what it looks like in practice is hard to say. We know from our own inquiry that the colleges differ quite substantially in supply and teaching opportunities. Some required educational goals are not attainable because of limitations in the equipment, as can be said especially of facilities for studying anatomy (Schmädel 1989: 97ff.).

Only one college out of 20 that we visited was equipped with an anatomical theatre that was operational, the others had only collections of bones. One can easily conclude that the education that can be provided at a college with 40 students is rather poor, because of various reasons, the most important being its small financial basis to start with. The actual content of the knowledge that is taught to the students is hardly known to outsiders and not reported in the literature. It is for sure, though, that the classical Sanskrit texts of Āyurvedic medicine, especially those of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa, still play their central role in Āyurvedic training. They are still read in their original language Sanskrit; in Āyurvedic college education, a language course in Sanskrit is compulsory for those students who have not taken a Sanskrit course prior to their Āyurvedic studies. But there seem to be no studies upon how these texts are interpreted in class, as also not upon the actual, practical application of what is thus learnt theoretically.

In the following discourse on the position of psychosomatics in Āyurvedic medicine we therefore processed literature on the classical Āyurvedic texts as well as contemporary research material on therapeutical procedures applied by Āyurvedic physicians in cases of psychosomatic and psychiatric illness. The latter was in part gathered by ourselves, and in part we used contributions by researchers who currently are or were engaged in field work.

Mental health and illness in Āyurveda

*The theory of the three humours (*tridoṣa*-theory)*

In the traditional texts as well as in the contemporary teachings at the colleges the theory of the three humours (*tridoṣa*-theory) takes a central role concerning definition of health and disease criteria, and also concerning theoretical foundations of diagnostics and therapy. According to Āyurvedic standards a person is in a state of health if *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha* are balanced in a state of equilibrium. This can be illustrated with a quotation: 'Through this equilibrium state the three humours control and perform all physiological functions in the body.' — 'If this equilibrium is disturbed, the physiological functions of the body go haywire and lead to the initiation of the development of the diseases.' (Sastri 1977: 15).

How can the three humours *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha* be conceived? All three humours are describable material elements of the human body; for *pitta* and *kapha* even the quantity is given in the literature: for *pitta*, the amount is five handfuls (Sastri 1977: 66), for *kapha*, the figure is six handfuls (Sastri 1977: 109). All three substances have describable qualities like colour, taste, viscosity, and so on. Each substance has its main location within the body. All three humours are understood to be effective all over the body. The ratio of the three is fixed from birth; the constitutional characteristics and body type of a person derive from the compound mixture of *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha*. Naturally and logically, the specific disposition to diseases is laid down in the compound of the three humours (*tridoṣa*) as well as in the possibilities a person has in order to maintain (and regain) health.

Each of the three humours *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha* is further divided into five subdivisions (Sastri 1977: 29). Each subdivision is responsible for certain body functions. When, after a state of instability, a subdivision is out of control, then a specific disease follows.

Of course, Āyurveda also knows about diseases that are caused by external forces, especially by acts of violence, but also those caused by demons and spirits. Curing illness caused by supernatural powers is however primarily the domain of priests. But because in earlier times priest and physician were identical, knowledge about these phenomena is widespread in both professions.

In Western attempts to describe Āyurvedic medicine and its approaches, scholars frequently bring the terms "holistic medicine" and "psychosomatic medicine" into the discussion (Ammon—Kemper 1982: 149; Lechner-Knecht 1978: 168; Roşu 1981: 209; Scharfetter 1976: 565). This means, besides other connotations, that the equilibrium of the three humours *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha* is decisively responsible for the psychological as well as for the physical well-being of a person. *Pitta*, for instance, regulates processes as different as 'digestion of the food or fuel; power of vision, production of normal body

heat, normal colour and complexion of the body, courage, cheerfulness, lucidity of the mind, production of hunger and thirst, softness of the body, lustre, intelligence' (Sastri 1977: 68f.).

As apparent from this list, the three humours are responsible for control over emotional and intellectual as well as physical functions, without these different areas being differentiated very much. The Āyurvedic approach is holistic insofar as Āyurvedic medicine, though knowing about diseases of distinct organs such as liver, spleen, gall-bladder, and so forth, looks at these disorders as manifestations of a grade of irregularity in the equilibrium of the three humours *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*. This also implies significance for what Western science calls the psychological sphere, including mental disorders (Sastri 1977: 14ff.; Obeyesekere 1977: 157; Udupa 1977: 161).

As the majority of the classical Āyurvedic authors take emotions and intelligence, i.e. psychological functions, not to be located in the brain, but in the heart, disorders originate from the disturbance of the three humours arriving at the heart (Obeyesekere 1977: 160). However, even without irregularities of the three humours, specific describable disorders can arise from the influence of demons or through violations of religious rules (Lechner-Knecht 1978: 208; Venkoba Rao 1978: 116).

Psychosomatics and the Āyurvedic System

In the psychological area, behavioural traits like greediness, stinginess, vengefulness, also ambitiousness and competitiveness, are regarded as diseases in Āyurvedic perspective. In most European societies, these traits can partly be regarded as within the normal statistical range. Partly they are considered deviant, but they are not seen as illnesses and consequently not as indications for medical treatment either.

Thus another aspect in which Āyurvedic teachings are "holistic" is that of the causes of diseases, since the reason for a disturbance developing into irregularities can lie in almost all aspects of life like nutrition, seasons, inadequate clothing, social stress and conflicts within family and professional life, but also in any wrongdoing in religious conduct or just in Karman (Lechner-Knecht 1978: 211).

The question of whether Āyurveda has a psychosomatic approach in diagnosis and therapy is much more difficult to respond to in a serious manner (and not just by taking its approach to be synonymous with "holistic" in a prescientific sense).

The term 'psychosomatics' in meaning and range of applicability, as well as psychosomatic diagnostics and therapy, have to be specified with regard to Western medicine too. This is especially important in the case of cross-cultural comparison, because otherwise the danger of artificially constructing equations out of superficial similarities that do not hold true in close-up inspection arises. A typical example for this doubtful procedure is presented by Dube (Dube 1978) who attempts to squeeze the mental diseases he found in the old Sanskrit texts, especially the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, into the ICD-framework. But the symptoms listed in the Sanskrit texts do not translate so easily into Western terms, and moreover, lack indications regarding the duration of symptoms.

In Western medical thinking, the classical definition of 'psychosomatic' (introduced by J.C. Heinroth in 1818; see Bräutigam—Christian 1986: 2) means psychological factors causing physical symptoms. The primary meaning of 'psychosomatic' implies this causal direction. This is already made clear by the (parallel) usage of the term somatopsychic.

The fact that these terms are formed as compound words shows the dichotomous thinking which they are based upon.

In Western-style medicine, the classification of a disease as psychosomatic is of considerable relevance for further empirical research. On the individual patient's level, it bears decisive consequences for treatment. Depending on the severity of the disease, the classification as psychosomatic implies a different approach to be taken by the general practitioner in charge of the case, or it even implies referring the patient to a specialist or appropriate residential treatment. It also has a certain labelling function, often not appreciated by the affected (Braun 1986: 68-73, and Helmich 1991: 188).

The necessity for and actual existence of psychosomatic departments within the framework of medicine is not in question. The range of its area of responsibility is debatable, but that is true for other specialties, too.

The core of psychosomatic treatment is directed towards psychological aspects that are suspected to have caused or to sustain the illness. Treatment procedures designed to improve the physical condition directly are very often only of intermediate importance.

This leads us to state that psychosomatic medicine is reasonably well established in the Western system, designed to bridge somatic and psychological phenomena and to alleviate, if not overcome, this dichotomy (Spitzer 1989: 21, 28-31). Psychosomatic concepts are worked with in diagnostics and therapy. Psychosomatic research is exploring bi-directional causation theories.

Within the Āyurvedic framework, however, it does not make sense to distinguish between somatic, psychosomatic and psychological diseases. Distinguishing between these three categories does not bear any consequence for Āyurvedic diagnosis or therapy. Since all diseases, including those in the psychosomatic and psychological sphere, can be traced back to an imbalance of the three humours *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha*, the therapeutic approval is always directed at reestablishing the balance between them. There are only a few exceptions to this rule, e.g. concerning *unmāda* (mental illness). 'Insanity was classified into two major categories: one caused by three humours Vata, Pitta, Kapha ... the other attributed to possessions by good or evil spirits' (Haldipur 1984: 337).

Even in the area of *unmāda*, Caraka still sees causation in the context of the *tridoṣa*-system. In this context "mind" and "self" are located in the heart. In detail, Caraka describes four types of mental diseases, the causes of which definitely lie in the somatic sphere, resulting from the tri-humoral system breaking down. In a fifth type the disorder is caused by emotional shock, by which the channels leading to the heart are blocked and the balance of the three *doṣas* cannot be maintained (Obeyesekere 1977: 160). In a sixth type the disturbance of the balance of the three humours is brought about by poison (Haldipur 1984: 337).

Given these theories regarding causation of diseases, we are not surprised to find the therapy to be more somato-psychological (Haldipur 1984: 343; Obeyesekere 1977: 159) than psychosomatic or psychotherapeutic. This means that it is a therapy using medication, but also shock therapy methods, like whipping with a lash, mock executions, throwing into a snake hole, mock attacks with tamed elephants and tortures like burning with glowing iron etc. (Scharfetter 1976: 572). Only in case of either mood disturbances of a depressive type (we would call them depressed reactions) that are caused by loss of significant persons (beloved ones), or syndroms characterised by loss of appetite, are such extreme healing methods to be refrained from. In such cases the recommendations

suggest that the patient should be consoled, comforted, and caressed, and given his favourite dish to foster his recovery (Scharfetter 1976: 572).

The Grahas have to be considered a second major cause of mental diseases. These are inimical entities that man can fall prey to. The Grahas can be classified into eight major groups, 'but only weak men that are unclean regarding body, soul, and deeds fall prey to the Grahas' (Lechner-Knecht 1978: 208; translated from the original German). The power of the soul to resist is crucial; a righteous person is on the whole safe: 'The godly Graha (Deva) can even occupy an honest and devout person. But this man can easily be distinguished from others by various criteria, e.g. he is godfearing, loves flowers and nice scents (aromas) and is beneficial to people' (l.c.). Possession by Grahas calls rather for a priest than for a physician.

As mentioned earlier, Āyurvedic physicians have thought about which sort of behaviour and circumstances can cause an imbalance in the system of three humours. It was pointed out that a whole variety of lifestyles and behaviour types in one way or the other can be involved in causation of irregularities. Among them are inappropriate diet, emotional and social stress, but also poisoning or a negative Karman.

This broadly based inclusion of emotional and social factors within the possible causation of diseases in its widest sense does not lead to an equally wide therapeutic approach. It is true that, in almost all consultations, prescriptions and rules regarding behaviour and lifestyle are given. But in the classical texts of Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa as well as in contemporary Āyurvedic practice the focus is clearly on therapeutic measures that we would assign to somatic treatment. The treatment is designed to rebalance the *tridoṣa*-system through pharmaceutical and dietary prescriptions and by what we would call physiotherapeutical procedures and exercises.

Contrary to this understanding, in Western medicine, given its dichotomous background, psychosomatic diseases are regarded as treatable using psychological means, once the diagnosis is made. This leads to putting the focus on psychotherapeutical treatment procedures, performed with varying professional skills. Resorting to solely body-oriented treatment would be regarded inappropriate. Psychosomatic approaches avoid reinforcing and iatrogenically fixating the patient's perception and thinking on somatic aspects (Helmich 1991: 180). Instead, the psychological factors seen as crucial are to be addressed and moderated. This is generally accepted in psychosomatic medicine in spite of differences regarding the practical steps to be taken.

Interventions are directed at the supposedly causal chain, aiming at the following goals:

— improving ego-functions,
— changing personality structures, and, correspondingly, behaviour patterns,
— making the capacities of the self (personality), goals in life and actual behaviour patterns more congruent.

The goals of psychotherapy differ widely, but generally centre upon fostering personality traits regarded as useful and removing obstacles within the subjective reality of the patient. A change of personality is regarded as being possible and necessary for successful psychosomatic treatment in Western medicine.

Not many Western physicians engage in psychotherapeutic efforts systematically. Some, though they do not deny the existence of disorders in which psychotherapy could be applied, just do not want to get involved in activities they do not like, partly because these are less well remunerated.

Forms of psychodynamic psychotherapy like the ones in Western tradition, aiming at altering a patient's personality by more or less manipulative measures or by providing an artificial interactional setting (according to Freud) to regain a patient's capability to work and to love (Bock 1984: 156-167), are alien to the general Āyurvedic treatment principles, even in what we would call psychosomatic and psychological diseases. Psychotherapeutic approaches in Āyurveda would comprise shock therapy in cases of severe mental illness, verbal interventions to talk patients into a better mood, caressing, giving good advice for righteous conduct in life, prescribing religious exercises, exorcism, and the like.

Standardised evocative psychotherapy schools like orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis, behavioural therapy or client-centred therapy (CCT) did not develop in Āyurveda. Diseases in which emotional factors play a major causal, contributing or triggering role, are certainly known to Āyurvedists. There is, however, no rule that these diseases are to be classified in one major category and set aside for a distinct treatment. For an Āyurvedist it is not at all in question that all kinds of events can lead to an imbalance in the tri-humoral system. Contrary to Western medicine, it is not of primary importance to find out what has brought the three humours out of balance. Instead, it is decisively important to conclude which one of the three humours *vāta*, *pitta* or *kapha* is out of balance and thus responsible for the disorder, because this conclusion provides the physician with the crucial information he needs for establishing the therapy-plan. There is no ratio for *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha* that can be regarded as valid for everybody. The tri-humoral balance is specific for each patient, and this intra-individual norm is set basically at the time of birth.

Conclusion

So we can arrive at the conclusion that there is knowledge of psychosomatic diseases in Āyurvedic medicine, but any special diagnostic and therapeutic measures in the area we refer to as psychosomatics cannot be detected. In Āyurveda, contrary to allopathic Western medicine, psychosomatic diseases are approached not by using psychotherapeutic means, but primarily by somatically-oriented treatment measures. The explanatory model in the area of diseases that we in Western medicine would call psychosomatic and psychological, is more a somato-psychological than a psychosomatic one. This also holds true for a wide spectrum of diseases that we in allopathic medicine would refer to as psychiatric disorders.

This will now be illustrated by some case-studies.

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Case study #1

The first case we would like to present here is taken from a paper presented by Gananath Obeyesekere (Obeyesekere 1977). The physician who treated the patient is an Āyurvedic physician (Dr. Alwis) acquainted with Obeyesekere. The patient is a 20-year-old man in Sri Lanka. Anamnestic data and findings are given along with relevant information concerning the social life of the patient.

Symptoms: Burning sensations in stomach; aches and pains in shoulders, back and joints; sometimes vision is blurred; gets frightened in his dreams; hostile to parents and others.

History: Chronic diarrhoea in childhood.

Āyurvedic diagnosis: Unmāda of the *rakta-pitta* type, further specified.

In order to establish a Western-styled medical diagnosis we lack, of course, data that would allow us to exclude any serious somatic illness or major psychiatric disorder (condition). But as a working hypothesis, based on the data given, we would arrive at diagnosing a somatoform disorder according to DSM III-R classification criteria (AmPsychAss 1987).

To discuss the treatment we have to talk about the doctor-patient relationship. Let us therefore focus on the relational aspect first. The therapeutic interaction starts with Dr. Alwis explicitly not being afraid of the patient. This is worth mentioning because frightening others constitutes his outstanding symptom. The Āyurvedic physician explains this symptom within the Āyurvedic framework, as a consequence of the three humours being out of balance. He cites a portion of a Sanskrit text as reference, thereby giving the disease its name and legitimate explanation for its pathogenesis and symptomatology. In this connection he states that he is not at all afraid of the patient. This firm stand makes an impression on the patient. This procedure corresponds to the directive style we generally observed in Āyurvedic consultations. The first interpretation focuses entirely on an explanation that locates the disease clearly inside the patient. There is no interactional aspect mentioned. The addressee of the frightening behaviour does not get mentioned either, and neither does the interaction of addressee and addressor.

The impression that the doctor leaves on the patient encourages him to use his authoritative power a little more. He forbids him to frighten other people. But he considers this intervention not to have a lasting effect. He intends to bring about the final cure by his sophisticated medical prescriptions. These follow the line of the explanation he has found relevant for this case.

First of all, he aims at controlling *pitta*, probably to calm the patient down. Then he proceeds with "evening out" (= straightening out) and, after that, goes over to nasal drainage, resembling general Āyurvedic principles. He resorts to standardised prescription packs.

Then, in line with other consultations we have analysed, he gives dietary instructions, too. He recommends emetic and cooling substances. His behavioural recommendations say that the patient should refrain from taking a bath. — Treatment in this case ended with success.

Regarding the course of the treatment, it may be noted that a sedative component is chosen first. This is often found necessary in Western settings too, as in psychiatric emergency departments, when sedation is of immediate importance and the final diagnostic and therapeutical decisions are made later on.

Why Āyurvedic therapy was chosen

It is worth mentioning that the patient had been presented to a Buddhist monk before he went for Āyurvedic treatment. The monk was approached with a question regarding the nature of the disease. He was to make the decision whether the disease was

of physical origin (as he himself thought) or due to demoniac possession (as his father believed). The monk did not make the decision by himself but made a test involving a charmed "bag" placed against the forehead. The test turned out in favour of the "physical illness" version. Therefore Āyurvedic therapy was chosen, which is known to focus on the physical aspect. So the patient, though he seems passive-receptive within the therapy, was quite active and selective in his decision on whom to approach for help. We have to keep in mind that in the society in question Āyurveda is always in competition with other methods of treatment. So the Āyurvedist is under pressure to succeed, but he can also be sure that patients who come to his practice mostly share his view on health and illness theory.

In his discussion of the case Obeyesekere already points out that compliance of the young man is assured by his desire to prove his father wrong and show recovery when being treated with Āyurvedic remedies. So his cooperation is indirectly secured. This corresponds to the monk's advice to the young man to show more tolerance and understanding for his parents.

Case study #2

The second case is again taken from Obeyesekere's publication (Obeyesekere 1977) and concerns another patient of Dr. Alwis. The patient is a 23-year-old female. The first impression the patient leaves is that she is very depressed.

Symptoms: Refuses to speak to interviewer; withdrawal; sorrowful and depressed, especially over father's death a week ago; head is bowed; cough; difficulty in breathing freely (asthmatic condition).

Āyurvedic diagnosis: Unmāda of the *rakta-pitta* type, further specified.

In this case the Āyurvedic physician actually considers the possibility of a mental disease (in his differential diagnostic considerations). However, he rejects these thoughts strongly after having given them rather little attention. He turns down any doubts concerning his diagnosis that is firmly rooted in the system of three humours. The way he makes the decision carries some similarity with recent Western ways to include or exclude possible psychosocial influential factors. He investigates whether the onset of the disease coincides with any stressful incident to estimate a degree of causality from this possible correlation, to accept causality or to reject it.

This model is applied much as a Western doctor would do. Particularly striking here is that a causal connection is rejected quite quickly, on the grounds of too much time lying between possible cause and onset of the disease. A week's time is here already considered too long to allow an assumption of a causal relationship. Actually, the time is probably due to a delay in reporting and presenting to the doctor. Nevertheless, the possibility of causes besides physiological ones is considered here, though only to be rejected on grounds that in Western medicine would not be considered sufficient. The model that the doctor uses allows for exceptions; since he carefully excludes a psychological etiology, he obviously regards this to be possible in principle.

Although he denies any psychological causation in this case he does connect the symptomatology to the incidence in question: the patient's father's death. The derangement of the tri-humoral system dates from the exhaustion of the patient due to spending

so much time awake attending her father during his illness. Thus can be demonstrated that the *tridoṣa*-theory offers explanations for mental symptoms. It involves a concept compromising between ancient Sanskrit texts and Buddhist theories regarding the location of mind and soul functions; Dr. Alwis states: 'Mind is not an organism; its seat is the heart and its "office" is in the brain' (Obeyesekere 1977: 175).

Regarding the treatment procedures themselves, the physician pays most attention to the asthma problem and attaches secondary importance to the symptoms of madness.

It is interesting to learn about the initial effect of the treatment: the patient's condition worsened at first. That is explained as being temporary only. Moreover, it was foreseeable and actually foreseen (predicted) by the physician: it is pointed out that patients are even warned about this reaction. The explanation given is: humours are being attacked directly (and fighting back, presumably). On the whole, the peak and most important part of the therapy can be labelled as: cleansing the system.

Regarding the outcome of the therapy, Obeyesekere notes that the doctor was quite pleased with the result, whereas the patient might still have had some minor problems to overcome.

Obeyesekere, in his view on the case, gives some psychodynamical explanations based on empathetical understanding of the patient's situation.

Conclusion out of case studies #1 and #2

Regarding the two cases (both treated by Dr. Alwis) taken from Obeyesekere's studies, we might conclude:

Two cases were diagnosed and treated in an Āyurvedic practice according to Āyurvedic traditions. In both cases mainstream Western medicine would, based on the given symptomatology, distinguish dichotomously between somatic and psychological factors. A majority of general practitioners would arrive at the conclusion that nonorganic factors play a major role in the etiology. Diagnoses would be something like somatoform disorder due to psychological factors and reactive depression respectively. Treatment would include psychosomatic approaches, maybe medication too, the latter primarily directed at the nervous system. Somatic symptoms would be expected to decrease once the psychological problems are addressed and properly taken care of.

In both cases mentioned, the Āyurvedic physician takes the psychological symptoms down very carefully, and uses them to establish his diagnoses, deeply rooted within the Āyurvedic tradition and formulated within the tri-humoral framework. Therapy follows in the same line of reasoning: treatment is physically oriented to change the humours in the body, then the mental symptoms will disappear too. According to the reports, they in fact did disappear, with slight residual symptomatology in one case.

Patients' attribution of mental symptoms to physiological causes

In addition to this it is worth mentioning that in a broadly-based study Mitchell Weiss (Weiss 1988) investigated psychiatric patients' illness theories and compared them to their relatives' attitudes. In conclusion, Weiss found a great attribution specifically of mental and emotional symptoms to derangements of balance of the three humours. So, on the whole, Āyurvedic physicians can be sure of a large proportion of possible patients in society sharing their views on health and illness (illness-theory).

Comparison of a DSM III-R-casebook-study with a case taken from an Āyurvedic practice ('seizures')

Case out of the casebook

In the DSM III-R casebook, there is a chapter dealing with international psychiatric cases from various cultures, interpreted from a Western viewpoint (Spitzer 1989). The only case that is taken from India is a 26-year-old female patient suffering from seizures, very much resembling epileptic convulsions. But the absence of typical features of organic seizures such as incontinence and biting of the tongue is taken to suspect a non-organic etiology. This is further substantiated by a normal encephalogram. The casebook suggests the diagnosis 'Conversion Disorder, Recurrent' (DSM III-R-category: 300.11).

Western-style treatment in this case was family therapy dealing with themes like 'when to give attention to whom in the family', 'whether to assume an active or passive role in the family', 'responsibilities when three generations are living together', and discussion of life style changes, which steps to take next, etc. No other therapy apart from this is mentioned.

Case treated with Āyurvedic medicine

Out of the video-material we have gathered so far from Āyurvedic consultations, we chose a case that matches the casebook one as closely as possible. It is a 21-year-old female coming to the consultation along with her parents. According to the Āyurvedic physician Dr. Narendra Bhatt's information, there presumably is now at least a strong nonorganic component, taking the encephalogram etc. into account. The symptomatology in many ways resembles that of the DSM III-R casebook (Spitzer 1989), except that for various reasons the outlook regarding attempts at providing psychological guidance seems poorer in the Āyurvedic physician's case. The patient does not have a family of her own yet, she seems much more dependent on her parents and more impaired by the illness on the whole. From the perspective of Western psychology this might mean less room for possible psychological manoeuvres as long as independence from the parents is not achieved. This would be a goal in individualistic or family-oriented Western psychotherapy.

In the observed Āyurvedic treatment of this case, treatment focuses on continued medication, dietary prescriptions and behavioural advice. The latter includes the family, and this behavioural approach includes contents resembling the Western-styled strategy mentioned above.

Conclusion regarding this comparison

The physician, Dr. Bhatt, is a leading Āyurvedic doctor in Bombay, but also holds a degree in biology and is well travelled to international university departments. He represents Āyurveda in transition. His comments on the case show that he regards psychological aspects as quite important for the course of this particular treatment. However, he does not foster insight very much, but uses manipulative directives. The course of the consultation we filmed shows a gap between the physician's attitude to the case and — in Western terms — the overprotective attitude of the parents towards their daughter.

Here it becomes clear that a Western-styled therapy is very difficult to amalgamate with a society that does not share the values connected with it.

In most Western therapies the focus is on the individual. To ensure the privacy of the female patient a Western physician would have sent her parents away for at least a part of the consultation. This the physician cannot do here; it would have been considered an affront against the family. So the physician is in a very difficult position: he looks at the patient with an awareness of psychological theories, which in his view are congruent to Āyurvedic approaches; in his treatment, however, he almost entirely relies on classical Āyurvedic measures, because this is where he is skilled best and what his patients expect. His almost Western-styled interpretations and attitudes cannot be easily turned into successful verbal interventions.

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Apports indiens à la médecine traditionnelle khmère
Considérations préliminaires

CHOULÉAN ANG

A priori on peut légitimement présumer que l'Inde a exercé au cours de l'histoire de la médecine khmère une certaine influence quand on connaît ses apports culturels énormes et décisifs dans la civilisation du Cambodge, d'une manière générale. Ceci est même une question de logique. Mais c'est une toute autre question de savoir dans quelle proportion les idées indiennes ont pu pénétrer la mentalité médico-magique khmère. Cela suppose, en effet, une étude comparative des deux médecines dans toutes leurs dimensions, à savoir les parts respectives des pratiques médicales pures, de la magie et de la religion. Par conséquent, cela demanderait une recherche de longue haleine et nécessiterait, en tout cas, les compétences conjuguées d'un indianiste et d'un ethnologue khmérisant. C'est dire que mon but présent n'est pas du tout de faire une étude exhaustive sur ce sujet, mais plutôt de présenter une première évaluation du problème, éventuellement d'en dégager les voies de recherche.

Avec une publication de Jean Filliozat en 1937,[1] nous avons commencé à appréhender la question dans le concret. Elle nous dévoile, en effet, une lointaine version du Kumāratantra dans la tradition médicale cambodgienne actuelle. Naguère encore l'ouvrage demeurait à peu près le seul qui nous incitait à nous poser sérieusement la question sur l'apport de l'Inde à la médecine khmère, mais on ne pouvait pas faire avancer la recherche tant que l'ethnologie religieuse khmère ne s'intéressait pas de très près aux textes. Or, aujourd'hui, on peut espérer quelque progrès dans ce domaine.[2] Concernant les faits contemporains, je me servirai principalement d'un traité khmer (ms. 97, EFEO, *infra*) qui, parmi ceux que je connais, m'a semblé très proche des Kumāratantra indiens. Pour approfondir la question, il faudra à l'avenir procéder à un examen minutieux de tous les traités médicaux khmers existants, dont nous sommes, pour le moment, loin de pouvoir évaluer même approximativement le corpus. En effet, s'il est un domaine mal connu de la littérature khmère au sens large, c'est bien celui de la médecine. Les raisons en sont multiples, et ce n'est pas le lieu de les développer ici. Répétons simplement que la médecine est intimement liée à la magie et que la magie, par définition, n'est pas du domaine public. En se lançant dans l'étude de tous ces textes — l'entreprise sera difficile, mais la démarche pertinente —, je suis persuadé qu'on s'engagerait dans la bonne voie.

Cambodge ancien (VI^e^ — XV^e^ s.)

Dans l'ensemble l'archéologie et l'épigraphie contiennent des témoignages aussi peu nombreux qu'indirects sur la médecine ancienne. Toutefois dans la langue khmère actu-

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[1] Filliozat 1937. Voir aussi Renou et Filliozat 1953: 159. Enfin, sur la possession des enfants, cf. Roşu 1986.

[2] L'intrusion du monde surnaturel dans le monde social étant fréquente dans la conception de la médecine traditionnelle, je ferai appel aux résultats des recherches dans ce domaine, en particulier à mon ouvrage Ang 1986.

elle, on relève un important stock lexical, constitué de mots d'origine sanskrite relatifs à la magie, ce qui nous laisse soupçonner des apports indiens dans la médecine de l'ancien Cambodge. À titre d'exemple, citons quelques termes cruciaux:

- *Āgama* "textes, formules et rites à caractère magique"
- *Kṛtyā* "maléfice, magie noire"
- *Gāthā*, mot qui a donné deux doublets: 1) *gāthā* "stances religieuses ou magiques", 2) *kāthā* "petite plaque de métal inscrite de formules et de diagrammes magiques"
- *Skanda* (le fils de Śiva) > mod. *skand* "convulsions des enfants"
- *Mantra* "formules rituelles"
- *Veda* "formule, recette"; ce mot entre, dans le vocabulaire khmer d'origine sanskrite, dans des composés désignant la cosmogonie
- *Vaidya* (attesté en épigraphie) > mod. *bedy* "médecin; médecine"
- etc.

À ce témoignage lexical général, on doit ajouter un témoignage particulier, qui constitue une exception dans l'archéologie et l'épigraphie: l'époque mahāyānique que représente le règne de Jayavarman VII (fin XII^{e} — début XIII^{e} s.). En effet, d'après ses constructions et ses inscriptions — il nous en a laissé un grand nombre —, on a pu se faire une certaine idée de l'organisation médicale dans le royaume. Quelle que fût la profondeur réelle de la foi bouddhique de ce grand roi, une partie importante de ses œuvres comportait des fondations religieuses intimement liées aux préoccupations médicales.

Les hôpitaux: En l'an 1186, quatre ans après son avènement, Jayavarman VII fait graver dans le temple de Ta-Prohm, dédié à sa mère, une longue stèle sanskrite (K. 273) mentionnant, entre autres, 102 hôpitaux (*ārogyaśālā*) munis de 798 statues de divinités, construits à la même époque dans différents points du royaume.[3] Dans la partie qui nous intéresse, cette stèle nous renseigne sur le culte pratiqué par le roi: culte du Buddha et du Bodhisattva "Lokeśvara".[4] Dans le cadre de Ta-Prohm ce culte est lié à l'apothéose de la mère du roi — principe en soi bien connu et constant de la civilisation angkorienne — identifiée à la Prajñāpāramitā, i.e. à la "mère des Buddha".

St. CXLI *Faisant ces bonne œuvres, ce roi, par une extrême dévotion envers sa mère a fait ce vœu: Que par les bonnes actions que j'ai accomplies, ma mère une fois délivrée de l'Océan des existences, jouisse de l'état de Jina.*

Les hôpitaux mentionnés sont construits et organisés à peu près sur un modèle unique. Chacun comporte un édit de fondation daté de 1186 A.D. On en a retrouvé 17 jusqu'à nos jours; ils diffèrent les uns des autres seulement par des détails circonstanciels. Les édits ont permis d'identifier et de localiser les hôpitaux correspondants, ou plutôt ce qu'il en reste. Si on y ajoute 18 autres vestiges archéologiques de conception rigoureusement identique (mais sans trace épigraphique), on peut dire qu'on connaît au total 35 emplacements des 102 hôpitaux.

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[3] Coedès 1906.

[4] Louis Finot a montré qu'à l'époque qui nous concerne, le Lokeśvara bénéficiait d'un culte particulièrement important. Il soulignait fortement un rôle important de ce dieu, à savoir celui de dieu guérisseur. Lokeśvara est abondamment représenté dans l'art de Jayavarman VII: Bayon, Banteay Chhmar, Ta Som, Preah Khan, Neak Pean ... . Cf. Finot 1925b.

C'est dans une véritable "croisade contre la maladie"[5] que se lance le roi, croisade indissociablement liée à sa foi mahāyānique, comme on l'a maintes fois souligné. Voici quelques extraits de la stèle de Say Fong, l'une des 17 inscriptions retrouvées et la mieux conservée:[6]

St. XIII *Il souffrait des maladies de ses sujets plus que des siennes: car c'est la douleur publique qui fait la douleur des rois, et non leur propre douleur.*

St. XLVI *Plein d'une extrême sympathie pour le bien du monde, le roi, en outre, exprime ce vœu: Tous les êtres qui sont plongés dans l'océan des existences, puissé-je les en tirer par la vertu de cette bonne œuvre!*

Une grande partie des emplacements identifiés sont situés sur des grands axes de pèlerinage, lesquels sont jalonnés de gîtes d'étapes, également dressés par le roi.[7] Grâce aux édits ou chartes de fondation, nous apprenons que chaque hôpital est placé sous la protection du Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru, le "Maître aux remèdes", flanqué de deux acolytes: Sūryavairocana et Candravairocana. Les édits décrivent un règlement détaillé du personnel et des fournitures. Chaque hôpital emploie environ une centaine de personnes, dont deux médecins principaux, un personnel médical composé d'une quinzaine d'employés, et diverses catégories de travailleurs. La nourriture quotidienne des malades et du personnel comprend les reliefs des sacrifices, ce qui montre, là encore, le cadre éminemment religieux de ces pratiques hospitalières.

Parmi les produits distribués aux pensionnaires lors des trois principales fêtes annuelles, la partie la plus importante est sans doute constituée de produits médicinaux. Quelques-uns ne sont pas encore identifiés. Mais à l'examen des listes données par les chartes de fondation, on peut dire qu'ils sont largement végétaux: sésame, résine d'assa-fœtida, camphre, térébenthine, santal, coriande, cardamome ... . Toutefois les substances animales n'y sont pas absentes: entre autres, cinq mesures de *dandaṅsa* "animaux aquatiques".[8] Un spécialiste de la médecine "positive" indienne qui se pencherait sur ces listes, pourrait nous dire l'éventuel apport indien dans la composition des remèdes.

Le miracle des eaux purificatrices: Sous le même règne, fut représenté concrètement le lac Anavatapta de la mythologie indienne, dont l'eau miraculeuse guérit les malades. Il s'agit du groupe architectural situé au centre du lac artificiel, aujourd'hui asséché, appelé Veal Reach Dak.[9] En outre, une série de bassins aux plans complexes et variés

[5] L'expression est de George Coedès: Coedès 1959. Voir aussi Coedès 1940.

[6] Finot 1903.

[7] Sur ce sujet, cf. par exemple Finot 1925a.

[8] Finot 1903: 20; 32.

[9] Littéralement "plaine du *rājataṭāka*", qui était primitivement appelé Jayataṭāka, d'après le nom du roi. Il est intéressant de noter le souvenir chez les Khmers actuels que ce quadrilatère était un bassin artificiel (*taṭāka*), œuvre royale, du temps de la grandeur khmère.

sont disposés de façon non moins complexe par rapport à ce groupe.[10] Ils contenaient l'eau d'ablution à vertu curative. Au milieu du tout se dresse l'île symbolique portant le sanctuaire connu sous le nom actuel de Neak Pean. On a découvert aux environs un certain nombre de statues de Lokeśvara, divinité représentée également en bas-relief dans le sanctuaire central et les chapelles qui l'entourent. Par ailleurs, on a pu reconstituer en partie une importante représentation en ronde-bosse du cheval Balāha auquel s'agrippent un groupe de naufragés — mythe connu du bouddhisme — traversant l'océan à la nage (i.e. la série de bassins) pour atteindre la rive (i.e. le sanctuaire central). On a pu démontrer de façon convaincante toute la symbolique curative de l'ensemble Neak Pean.[11] Cette symbolique était sans nul doute vécue très concrètement par les pèlerins, notamment ceux qui souffraient d'une maladie.

Le temple de Preah Khan, construit par le même Jayavarman VII à la mémoire de son père, nous a laissé une longue stèle sanskrite. On y trouve mention du même Neak Pean:[12]

St. XLI *Une île éminente, tirant son charme de ses bassins et nettoyant la boue des péchés de ceux qui l'approchent.*

Ces témoignages révèlent comme une vérité première le caractère indissociable des pratiques médicales et des pratiques religieuses. Certes, nos avons là affaire à un règne exceptionnel, dans la mesure où le mahāyāna fut élevé au sommet de l'Etat. Mais chacun sait aussi les affinités du mahāyāna et du śivaïsme, ce dernier ayant reçu, plus que toute autre forme de culte d'Etat de l'ancien Cambodge, la faveur royale. En outre, quelle que soit la religion adoptée par le roi, l'hindouïsme et le bouddhisme ont toujours coexisté.[13] Quoi qu'il en soit, un fait est certain: la médecine ancienne faisait partie intégrante de la religion. C'est là où l'on décèle la part initiale de l'Inde.

La difficulté se présente lorsqu'on examine la médecine dans sa seule dimension "rationnelle": techniques thérapeutiques, drogues ..., car nous ne possédons aucun document relatif à l'époque ancienne. Il nous faut par conséquent recourir à l'ethnologie du Cambodge contemporain et analyser toutes les sources disponibles pour essayer de combler ce vide.

Cambodge moderne

Dans son ouvrage cité plus haut, Jean Filliozat consacra deux pages au Cambodge,[14] plus précisément à ce qu'il crut être une version du Kumāratantra dans ce pays. Pour cela il reproduisit un court texte trouvé dans une thèse de médecine, texte cité de

[10] Marchal 1926.

[11] Finot et Goloubew 1923. Voir aussi Goloubew 1927.

[12] Coedès 1941.

[13] Il n'est pas difficile de s'en convaincre; un grand nombre de témoignages révélés par les études classiques le prouvent. Citons en exemple l'inscription sanskrite de Vat Sithor (K. 111) qui relate les fondations bouddhiques d'un dignitaire vivant dans la deuxième moitié du 10^{e} s. Ces fondations, pour le fonctionnement desquelles fut fixé un ensemble de règles rituelles bouddhiques strictes, reçut la bénédiction ultime du roi śivaïte Jayavarman V. Cf. Coedès 1954: 195-211.

[14] Filliozat 1937: 153-155.

seconde main. Bien que ce ne fût pas là l'objet principal de son étude, J. Filliozat nous fait toucher du doigt une chose concrète: un texte d'origine indienne qui a trouvé son écho dans le Cambodge moderne. Ce texte reflète certainement une tradition khmère ancienne directement influencée par l'Inde. J. Filliozat ne savait pas (pas plus que l'auteur de la thèse) qu'il existait au Cambodge des textes manuscrits intitulés "Kumāratantra" ou "Tantra".[15] Mais il eut le mérite de percevoir dans ce traité, dont il ne connaissait d'ailleurs qu'un passage librement traduit en français, l'esprit du "Kumāratantra et des textes similaires".

En fait le document khmer ne concerne pas spécialement les maladies infantiles, comme c'est le cas des Kumāratantra indiens. Il présente une simple énumération des esprits malfaisants, qu'on peut identifier en fonction du jour d'apparition du mal et des symptômes de ce mal.

Mais il y a au moins un traité médical (cf. *supra*) qui semble se rapprocher encore plus du Kumāratantra indien que le texte connu de J. Filliozat. Répertorié sous le numéro 97, il appartient au Fonds des manuscrits khmers de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris). Ce texte donne des recettes médicales dont une partie importante est consacrée aux convulsions des enfants (*skand*) et à la variole (*ut*). À titre préliminaire, nous allons considérer les passages les plus importants qui intéressent directement notre propos.

Les convulsions des enfants:[16] Le traité énumère douze sortes de convulsions correspondant aux années du cycle duodénaire. Ainsi, d'après l'année de naissance de l'enfant, on peut identifier l'esprit responsable des convulsions. On indique les ingrédients médicinaux que nécessite la thérapie. Ils doivent être mâchés par le guérisseur. Ce dernier en recrache (*stoḥ*) le jus et tout le mélange ainsi écrasé sur le corps de l'enfant de diverses manières, suivant les cas.[17] On recommande en même temps un carré magique que l'on fait porter à l'enfant.[18]

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[15] Par exemple le ms. khmer n° 310 de l'EFEO s'intitule *Tantr*, alors que les numéros 129 et 143 de la BN portent le titre de *Kumāratantr*.

[16] En khmer, *skand* s'applique aux convulsions des enfants (cf. *infra*). Dans le nord du Cambodge, il tend à désigner également les crises d'épilepsie des adultes.

[17] En général, le *stoḥ* est un complément de traitement. Sa fonction est considérée comme magique avant tout, en dépit des vertus médicinales des produits mâchés dans la bouche du guérisseur. Il s'accompagne systématiquement d'incantation de formules et s'ajoute à la partie "rationnelle" de la thérapeutique par les plantes et autres produits. Mais pour une maladie comme la "convulsion", le *stoḥ* constitue un mode de traitement à part entière. Selon les cas, le guérisseur recrache les produits mâchés sur le corps du patient, dans le sens qui va de la tête aux pieds, ou dans le sens inverse.

[18] *Yantr* (du skt. *yantra*) désigne au Cambodge toute amulette portant un diagramme magique à *dhāraṇī*. Elle peut consister en un carré d'étoffe, soigneusement plié et placé dans un autel ou porté sur soi. Le diagramme peut aussi être dessiné sur un gilet léger que porte l'individu, dissimulé sous un deuxième vêtement dans des circonstances particulières. Le tatouage est souvent à base de *yantr*. Enfin — et c'est le cas qui nous concerne — des diagrammes à *dhāraṇī* sont gravés sur de petites plaques de plomb, enroulées ensuite autour d'un fil de coton, dont le porteur ceint sa taille dans un but prophylactique. Ils sont appelés *kāthā* (cf. *supra*).

Une seule spécification toutefois est qu'il existe dans l'année des jours fatidiques. Dans ce cas les convulsions sont attribuées au *stec skand* "roi des *skand*". Aucune indication n'est donnée alors sur le traitement à suivre. La raison en est sans doute la gravité extrême du risque. Exemple:

Olle [30] *Si l'enfant est né l'année du Rat, dans l'un des sept jours [de la semaine], et dans l'un des douze mois [de l'année], [la convulsion qui le frappe] se nomme* skand-*chouette.*
(Suivent l'indication des ingrédients médicinaux et le procédé du "crâchement".)
S'il (i.e. l'esprit responsable des convulsions) *saisit* (cāp') *[l'enfant] par les épaules, il [lui] bleuit de son poison*[19] *d'abord tout le cou et progressivement les deux bras et la poitrine.*
S'il saisit (cāp') *un des mardis du mois de* pusy, *son nom est* stec skand.
(On donne au verso de l'olle [30] le carré magique correspondant, rempli de *dhāraṇī*, et aussi un dessin représentant la victime de la convulsion dont l'oiseau "saisit" par le bec l'épaule gauche. Cf. photo 1.)

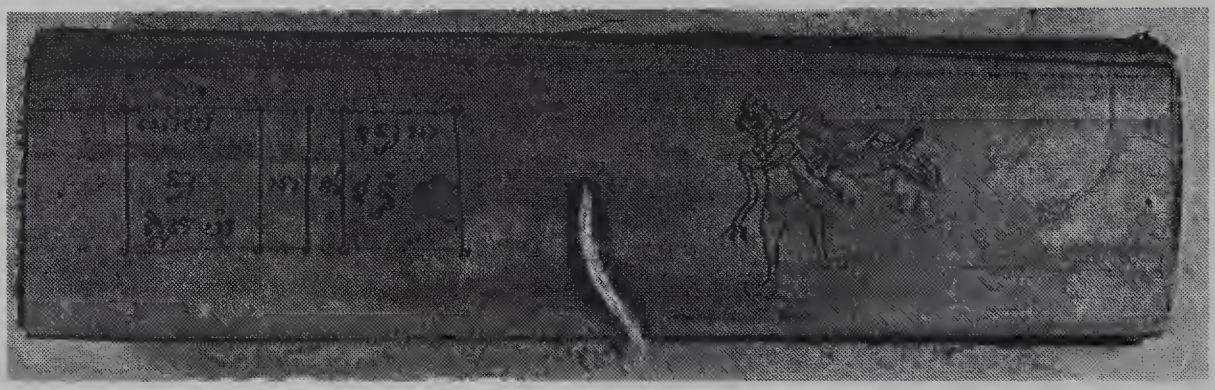

Photo 1: Ms. 97 (EFEO): L'oiseau provoque la convulsion chez l'enfant, en le "saisissant" par une épaule.

Ainsi, sur le même mode de description, se succèdent les onze autres types de convulsions. Dans l'optique qui nous intéresse, quelques observations préliminaires s'imposent:

L'Inde ne connaissant pas le cycle duodénaire, on chercherait en vain à voir dans notre texte le reflet exact de tel ou tel texte indien. Ceci dit, on pourrait tenter de retrouver des éléments d'origine ou d'inspiration indienne. Parallèlement à l'existence de neuf "démons saisisseurs" (auteurs de neuf sortes de possession chez les enfants), dont Skanda est le chef de file,[20] les traditions indiennes parlent des douze "mères" (*mātṛkā* ou *mātṛ*), ogresses qui possèdent les enfants.[21] Deux indices permettent d'iden-

[19] *Biṣ* (de skt. *viṣa*).

[20] Filliozat 1937: 43; Roşu 1986: 223. Signalons que les neuf *graha* étaient parfaitement connus dans l'ancien Cambodge. Voir Malleret 1960; Bhattacharya 1964.

[21] Cf. le Rāvaṇakumāratantra traduit dans Filliozat 1937: 11-19.

tifier chaque *mātṛkā*: a) le jour, le mois et l'année où elle "saisit"[22] l'enfant, b) l'âge de l'enfant.

L'identification est donc plus complexe chez les Indiens que chez les Khmers qui, tout comme les premiers, attribuent globalement toutes formes de convulsions chez les enfants à l'action d'une "mère" appelée *mtāy ṭoem* ou "mère originelle". Celle-ci est la mère charnelle de l'enfant considéré, dans une vie antérieure. Alors que ce dernier renaît parmi les humains, sa "mère originelle" ne se réincarne pas (ou pas encore). Elle cherche tout naturellement à reprendre l'enfant qui a été le sien en le faisant périr, et qu'elle considère comme lui ayant été dérobé par la mère (humaine) actuelle.[23]

Or l'ethnologie religieuse nous apprend qu'universellement les enfants, en particulier ceux en bas âge, appartiennent partie au monde social partie à la surnature, en d'autres termes qu'ils sont à cheval sur les deux mondes. Délaissant le monde des esprits, ils rentrent progressivement dans le monde des humains à mesure qu'ils grandissent. Affirmer que la *mtāy ṭoem* est une émanation directe de la *mātṛkā* serait donc sans doute une erreur. En revanche, certains traits des *mātṛkā* se retrouvent dans les croyances aux *mtāy ṭoem*, et ceci remonte certainement à un temps ancien:

— Les douze *mātṛkā* indiennes ont chacune un nom spécifique. Au Cambodge même la *mtāy ṭoem*, à qui on attribue globalement la convulsion infantile, est dotée de douze facettes correspondant aux années du cycle duodénaire. Parmi ces facettes, trois portent le simple nom de *mtāy ṭoem*, trois autres des noms d'oiseaux de nuit, cinq des noms d'animaux et d'objets apparemment quelconques; une seule porte un nom masculin.

— Nous avons vu qu'au Cambodge le mot pour "convulsions des enfants" est *skand*. De nos jours le Khmers ont plus ou moins perdu le souvenir de certaines divinités brahmaniques secondaires, parmi lesquelles Skanda.[24] Par voie de conséquence le mythe relatif à ce dernier est oublié. A première vue le terme pour "convulsion", *skand*, se rattache au skt. *√skand* "sauter, jaillir". L'emprunt serait alors strictement lexical. Mais de nombreux indices montrent que le mythe lui-même était connu et parfaitement intégré dans les traditions médicales du Cambodge ancien. En l'occurrence, c'est Skanda en tant que démon responsable de maladies qui nous intéresse: Skandagraha ou Skandāpasmāra. La notion de démon "saisisseur" (cf. *graha* dans Skandagraha) est d'ailleurs toujours présente au Cambodge, puisqu'on voit l'emploi constant du verbe khmer *cāp'* "saisir" (cf. les extraits du ms. 97, *supra* et *infra*). À ce propos l'épopée sanskrite du Mahābhārata apporte des précisions: "les Mātṛ viennent demander à Skanda les enfants des mères humaines (...) car les poètes les louent maintenant comme 'Mères du Monde', c'est à elles qu'appartient en droit toute progéniture et ce sont leurs enfants à elles que les mères humaines ont enlevés. Skanda se laisse fléchir (...)".[25]

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[22] Cf. *infra*.

[23] Pour plus de détails, cf. Ang 1986: 165-178.

[24] D'après les recherches de M. K. Bhattacharya, le culte de Skanda-Kārttikeya est très tôt attesté. En revanche, nous n'avons pas la preuve qu'il ait été florissant, contrairement à celui qu'a bénéficié Gaṇeśa, par exemple. Cf. Bhattacharya 1961: 136-138. Sur la place actuelle des anciens dieux brahmaniques, cf. Pou 1987-88 (en particulier p. 348 pour ce qui concerne Skanda); Pou 1986 (notamment pp. 332-333).

[25] Filliozat 1937: 75.

— Une réplique tamoule du Kumāratantra, reproduite et traduite par J. Filliozat,[26] indique parmi les remèdes un diagramme magique, spécifique à chaque sorte de convulsions, diagramme à graver sur une plaque de cuivre enroulée autour d'un fil (cf. le *kāthā* khmer). On peut voir là plus qu'un sujet de rapprochement avec le ms. khmer cité, mais encore probablement un lien de parenté dont il est cependant difficile de préciser le degré.[27]

La variole: Le même ms.97 traite amplement de la variole qui, outre les remèdes naturels, comporte ici des pratiques médico-magiques. Il ne s'agit plus du cycle duodénaire, mais des jours de la semaine. Sept esprits féminins sont responsables de la variole et chacun préside à l'un des sept jours où apparaît cette maladie épidémique. Comme pour les convulsions, on craint les jours dangereux où tout traitement se révélerait vain, à savoir le dernier jour de la quinzaine obscure de chaque mois. Quatre esprits féminins, au lieu d'un seul, œuvrent ensemble ce jour-là.

Olle 21 *Si la variole saisit* (cāp') *un lundi, elle a pour nom Me Daṃlāy Drūṅ.*[28]
(Suit l'indication des plantes et autres matières pour composer des emplâtres et différents liquides pour application locale, ainsi que les potions à boire.)
(Au verso un dessin, avec commentaire, représente Me Daṃlāy Drūṅ; photo 2.)

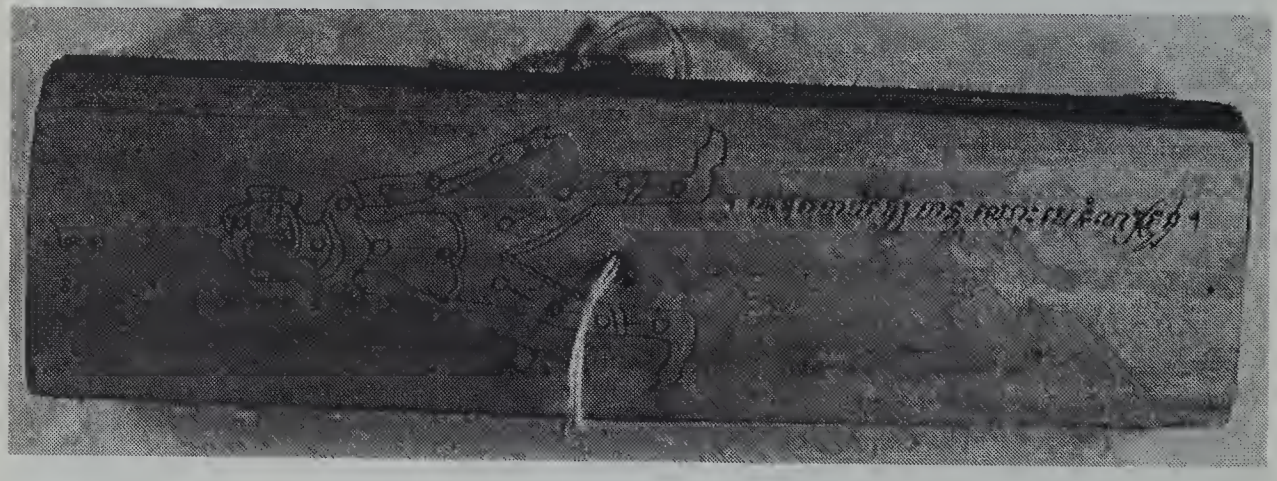

Photo 2: Ms. 97 (EFEO): Me Daṃlāy Drūṅ, un des esprits féminins provoquant la variole.

Ce traité, destiné aux seuls guérisseurs, est en parfaite conformité avec les traditions animistes qui attribuent invariablement toutes formes d'épidémie, et notamment celle

[26] Filliozat 1937: 84-109.

[27] Cf. *supra*, note 18.

[28] Litt. "Celle qui transperce la poitrine".

de la variole, à un esprit féminin, extrêmement dangereuse, appelé *brāy*[29]. Mais là encore on ne peut s'empêcher de voir une influence des traditions indiennes. En effet, au Bengale comme au pays tamoul, la variole est provoquée par une ogresse pouvant prendre sept aspects: Śītalā pour le premier cas, Māriyammai pour le second. Parallèlement, des traditions cultuelles locales en Inde parlent de "Sept Sœurs", auteurs de la variole.[30]

* * * *

Le ms. 97 est un des textes médicaux actuels susceptibles de nous conduire à la médecine indo-khmère du Cambodge. S'il nous apparaît comme le plus consistant, il n'est pas le seul dans son genre. Outre l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris conserve de nombreux textes médico-magiques khmers où M. Au Chhieng mentionne des formules "tantriques".[31]

— Ms. 96 (EFEO): Recettes médico-magiques indiquant, entre autres, des formules d'inspiration tantrique de type *dhāraṇī*, c'est-à-dire assemblant des syllabes, avec parfois des stances pāli certainement très défectueuses.

— Ms. 98 (EFEO): Texte commençant par une courte leçon sur le *cāp' car*. Ce dernier est une sorte de point vital qui se déplace sur le corps selon les jours de la semaine et selon le sexe de l'individu. Dans le traitement (par massage?), le guérisseur doit absolument l'éviter, sous peine d'achever le malade au lieu de le guérir. Suivent les recettes médicales proprement dites. Le texte se termine par l'indication de l'endroit d'un arbre ou d'une plante où se concentre sa vertu médicinale, selon le jour de la semaine et selon le moment de la journée.

— Ms. 381 (EFEO): Traité sur les "vents" (*khyal*), au nombre de soixante. Ceux-ci soufflent à l'intérieur du corps, provoquant ainsi des malaises plus ou moins graves. Chaque "vent" porte un nom et agit sur la victime de façon spécifique, commençant par exemple par un point précis du corps. C'est ce qui permit de l'identifier. Le traitement consiste avant tout en massage, spécifique également. Ce texte est identique au ms. 153 (BN). Il est aussi à comparer avec le ms. 82,3 (BN).

Sur le "vents", d'autres théories se rattachant probablement à des traditions indiennes sont connues. Ainsi un texte édité d'après les manuscrits[32] parle de sept "familles" de vents dont chacune agit dans un des sept jours de la semaine.

— Mss. 310 (EFEO), 129 et 143 (BN): *Tantr* ou *Kumāratantr*, dont J. Filliozat connaissait indirectement l'existence (Filliozat 1937). Mais le ms. 97 (EFEO) représente sans doute la version la plus proche du Kumāratantra indien.

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[29] De l'animisme khmer émergent deux grands groupes d'esprits à valeurs antagonistes. Le premier groupe est celui des ancêtres bénéfiques, reconnus et vénérés. Le deuxième est celui des esprits errants, affamés et extrêmement maléfiques, ne pouvant se réincarner en raison de la mort violente qui les a frappés. Les *brāy*, esprits des vierges ou des femmes mortes en couches, en sont les plus notoirement connus et redoutés.

[30] Filliozat 1937: 109-120; Roşu 1986: 245.

[31] Cf. Au 1953.

[32] Nuon 1953. Voir aussi une traduction française par M. Piat: Piat 1965.

Un concept non-indien intégré dans le monde brahmanique

Comme dans toutes les cultures traditionnelles, on croit à deux origines possibles de maladie (ou calamité): naturelle ou surnaturelle. Une fièvre passagère, un léger malaise ou un mal bénin remontent d'ordinaire à la première cause. Des maux caractéristiques (douleurs violentes dans certaines parties du corps, convulsions ...) ou simplement une maladie qui se prolonge sans que les remèdes puissent en venir à bout peuvent être d'origine surnaturelle. Ils peuvent être l'œuvre d'un esprit ou d'un sorcier. Mais examinons une conception spécifique de la santé, inconnue en Inde.

Au Cambodge, entre ces deux catégories somme toute répandues dans les cultures du globe, s'insère une conception intermédiaire très originale, de la maladie. Elle découle directement de la représentation même de l'être humain dans l'animisme sud-est asiatique, du moins dans celui qui prévaut en péninsule indochinoise. Le corps est pour ainsi dire animé par un certain nombre de souffles vitaux. Au Cambodge ceux-ci, au nombre de dix-neuf, sont appelés *braliṅ*. Leur cohésion explique la bonne santé de l'individu, leur relative dispersion sa faiblesse physique et son absence de vitalité. Leur désintégration totale entraîne inéluctablement la mort de la personne. Or, l'une des caractéristiques des *braliṅ* est leur fragilité. Ils ont, en effet, tendance à s'enfuir du corps dans différentes circonstances: lorsque le sujet est frappé par une peur subite, même de quelques secondes, par exemple simplement en trébuchant sur une marche d'escalier. Quelques formules très simples et très courtes entonnées sur le champ permettent alors aux *braliṅ* fugitifs de réintégrer tout de suite le corps. Lors d'un voyage en pays lointain, notamment à travers monts et forêts, une partie des *braliṅ* tendent aussi à sortir en cours de chemin et à se fixer qui sur un rocher, au bord d'une rivière, qui dans un grand arbre ... . Le risque de fuite "naturelle", dirions-nous, est aggravé par le danger de la capture des *braliṅ* par les esprits vivotant en ces milieux sauvages. En effet, au moyen de paroles tendres et d'attentions aimables, ces esprits cherchent à retenir quelques *braliṅ* sans que le possesseur s'en rende compte. Hors de son groupe social — *a fortiori* du monde social — l'homme se rend ainsi fragile.

Il existe un texte qui, très clairement, distingue d'une part l'individu en pleine santé et en possession de tous ses dix-neuf souffles vitaux et, d'autre part, le groupe villageois tout entier et l'intégralité de ses membres. Ce texte est un assez long poème à réciter en vue de "rappeler les *braliṅ*" (*hau braliṅ*) égarés ou capturés lors d'un tel voyage, entre autres circonstances.[33] La récitation, renouvelée à plusieurs reprises, constitue le rite central d'une cérémonie complexe qui peut durer jusqu'à trois jours.[34] Mais en général un type particulier de "maladie" seulement nécessite un temps aussi long de "rappels" répétés. C'est lorsque la personne n'est ni franchement malade ni en bonne santé et que cet état fluctuant n'a que trop duré. En effet, au bénéfice d'un sujet qui se sent constamment fatigué et affaibli, sans être affecté d'aucune maladie véritable — un certain nombre de ses souffles vitaux sont "absents de son corps" (*braliṅ min nau niṅ rūp*) —, l'entourage familial et le voisinage accomplissent ce rituel qui dure trois jours. Y alternent récitations du poème en question et simulacres de "repêchage" des *braliṅ* égarés à l'aide d'une écope.

[33] Exemples: mss. 383 (EFEO) et 84 (BN).

[34] Cf. Porée-Maspéro 1951; Ang 1986: 25-29.

Comme il se doit, le poème commence par l'invocation des divinités d'origine indienne, alors que la cérémonie du "rappel des *braliṅ*" relève d'une thérapeutique magique qui ne trouve pas un correspondant indien. En revanche on en connaît plusieurs versions ou variantes dans la péninsule indochinoise.[35] C'est que, sans doute, la conception de ce type de souffles vitaux (*braliṅ* chez les Khmers, *khouan* chez les populations thaies ...) est propre à cette région du monde.

Or l'invocation des dieux occupe une place qui est loin d'être négligeable: environ le tiers du texte. Le récitant commence par invoquer le pouvoir du Buddha. Suit un long éloge des divinités et personnages mythologiques hindous: Agni, Dharaṇī, Vāyu, Gaṅgā, Brahman, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Indra, Nāgarāja, Varuṇa, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, les Ṛṣi, les quatre gardiens des orients, etc. Le récitant est censé puiser son pouvoir auprès de tous ces dieux et demi-dieux. Dès lors comment ne pas y voir une sorte de sceau brahmanique à ce rituel de guérison foncièrement animiste? Bien sûr, sous sa version actuelle, le texte daterait seulement du XVIII[e] s.[36] Cependant, l'esprit en remonte certainement à une période plus lointaine de l'histoire religieuse du Cambodge. Le fondement animiste même du poème suffit à nous convaincre de son ancienneté. Mais en même temps la bénédiction brahmanique révèle un syncrétisme qu'il a connu dès l'ancien Cambodge.

Le thème khmer des *braliṅ* illustre bien la manière dont l'Inde confère en quelque sorte, chaque fois qu'elle peut, une légitimité aux pratiques et notions qui lui sont étrangères en territoire indianisé.

Conclusion

Sans influencer sur les recherches à venir, il me semble possible de formuler d'ores et déjà quelques observations et hypothèses. La médecine traditionnelle khmère, comme beaucoup d'autres, associe en règle générale une médecine empirique à thérapeutique purement médicale à des pratiques magiques et spirituelles. Dans ce deuxième domaine, nous avons entrevu la part importante de la civilisation indienne grâce aux vestiges archéologiques et épigraphiques, et aussi par le bref examen des textes médicaux actuels. L'Inde fournit donc un cadre magico-religieux à la pratique dans son ensemble. Mais c'est en fait un cadre composite. En effet, l'animisme ancestral des Khmers prévalait sans aucun doute dans les rites de guérison bien avant l'"indianisation" du Cambodge. Comme nous l'avons vu, par exemple, dans l'assimilation *mātṛ/mtāy ṭoem*, les mères surnaturelles des enfants atteints de convulsions.

Je n'ai pas examiné la partie médicale pure dans ce bref aperçu, car cela dépasse ma compétence. Il est toutefois probable que la médecine traditionelle khmère fasse peu de cas des simples et autres produits utilisés en Inde, pour des raisons avant tout de disponibilité écologique.[37]

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[35] Par exemple au Laos, chaque individu possède trente-deux souffles vitaux appelés *khouan*. Le nombre n'est pas sans rapport avec le chiffre symbolique bouddhique. Le rite du "rappel", plus abrégé mais célébre dans des circonstances parfois beaucoup plus futiles que chez les Khmers, est appelé *soukhouan*.

[36] Datation selon les critères linguistiques par Madame Saveros Pou.

[37] Ce qui ne dispense pas pour autant de pousser les études existantes sur les matières médicales en vue de les comparer aux traditions connues en Inde. Parmi les travaux connus, citons: Menault 1930; Pételot 1952-54; Douk 1966.

Notre conclusion provisoire est donc que:

— Il serait absurde de minimiser, encore plus de nier, une influence des idées médico-magiques indiennes au Cambodge.

— La pénétration de ces idées s'est opérée à la manière — mieux: à l'image — de l'indianisation même du Cambodge. L'assimilation ne s'est pas faite en bloc, mais en fonction des besoins, le temps ayant éliminé les apports inutiles ou en contradiction avec le fonds culturel pré-existant. Un développement à caractère syncrétique n'a pas manqué de prendre forme. D'ailleurs toute assimilation n'a de sens que lorsqu'elle produit une transformation originale.

— Toutefois, dans ce cadre syncrétique, on peut raisonnablement penser que la part des ressources végétales, animales et autres ont été à peine affectée par les leçons de l'Inde.

Abréviations

AA	*Arts Asiatiques*, Annales du Musée Guimet et du Musée Cernuschi, Paris
BEI	*Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*, Association Française pour les Études Sanskrites, Paris
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi puis Paris
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSEI	*Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, Saigon
EFEO	École Française d'Extrême-Orient
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
ms.	manuscrit sur feuilles de palmier ou sur papier de fabrication traditionnelle, plié en forme de paravent

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Summary: *Although we are by now quite familiar with the part played by India in the formation of Cambodian civilisation, there is one aspect of this which has not been explored earlier, to wit, traditional Khmer medicine. This paper contains a preliminary investigation and outline of the Indian role in this sphere.*

For modern times, many documents in the form of manuscripts of medical treatises are available to scholars. They contain, beside a mass of Khmer and other South-East Asian material, a number of matters Indian which clearly go back to a much older period in the history of Cambodia.

As regards ancient Cambodia (6th—15th cent.), though there is a dearth of similar documents, we fortunately have a considerable amount of epigraphic and archaeological records which copiously reveal important religious and spiritual facts and concepts of Indian origin. These evidently blended into the Khmer medical system, especially in therapy.

Uniting these two groups of records, we can draw the following conclusions:
a. Indian medico-magical concepts were undoubtedly introduced into Cambodia during the centuries-long Indian migration to South-East Asia, the so-called "Indianisation".
b. Whatever came from the Indian sub-continent was adopted gradually, after a thorough sifting motivated by local needs and cultural requirements. As a result, it blended gradually into the extant native cultural background, contributing to bring forth, syncretically, the well-known Khmer magico-religious system. In therapy, however, whilst many rites and recipes are Indian, the ingredients appear as "substitutes" for the Indian ones, because they are derived from the Khmer environment.

Tṛtīyakaḥ phenakaḥ

SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA

1. For the Nāgaraka, the fashionable man about town, the *Kāmasūtra* (= KS) prescribes a busy time-table of personal hygiene: a bath (*snāna*) every day, a massage (*utsādana*) every second day, *phenaka* every third day (*tṛtīyakaḥ phenakaḥ*), a shave (*āyuṣya*) every fourth day, and removal of pubic hair (*pratyāyuṣya*) every fifth or tenth day.[1] While the other operations are easy to understand, the task set for every third day perplexed commentators and translators alike. In the introduction to his edition of the *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*, V. Raghavan examined the problem thoroughly but stopped short of what may possibly be the correct solution.[2] Hence this exercise.

Since the word *phena* means 'foam' or 'froth', many an interpreter took *phenaka* to be some foam-producing substance like soap-nut (*Sapindus trifoliatus* Linn., or *S. mukorossi* Gaertn.).[3] Others opined that the word *phenaka*, like all other nouns in this *sūtra* (viz. *snāna*, *utsādana*, *āyuṣya*, *pratyāyuṣya*), should denote an act, viz. of applying some foam-producing substance.[4]

2. The commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* (= JM) by Yaśodhara Indrapāda, often the only means for understanding the abstruse *sūtras* of Vātsyāyana, however, adds as a proviso, that the *phenaka* is to be applied (*deya*) every third day not to the whole body but only to the shanks (*jaṅghā*); otherwise they will become coarse.[5] *Phenaka* then is not the name of an act but that of a substance the regular application of which ensures the smoothness of the shanks.[6]

3. Though the JM restricts the application of the *phenaka* to the shanks only, another authority recommends it for the thighs. Speaking of body care, Suśruta declares that scrubbing (*udgharṣaṇa*) with *phenaka* produces firmness and lightness of the thighs,

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[1] KS 1.4.17: *nityaṃ snānaṃ dvitīyakam utsādanaṃ tṛtīyakaḥ phenakaś caturthakam āyuṣyaṃ pañcamakaṃ daśamakaṃ vā pratyāyuṣyam ity ahīnam.*

[2] *The Śṛṅgāra Mañjarī of Saint Akbar Shah*, ed. V. Raghavan, Hyderabad 1951, Introduction, pp.49-51.

[3] Cf. P.K. Gode, 'Some Notes on the History of Soap-Nuts, Soap and Washermen in India — Between B.C. 300 and A.D. 1900,' reprinted in: P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Vol.III, Poona 1969, Part 1, pp.150-167, esp. pp.155f.

[4] Cf. Raghavan, op.cit., p.51n.

[5] *tṛtīyaka iti — tṛtīye 'hni jaṅghayoḥ phenako deyaḥ syād, dvidinānantaritam ity arthaḥ, anyathordhvaṃ jaṅghe karkaśe syātām.*

[6] Many modern writers render the Sanskrit word *jaṅghā* with its NIA meaning 'thigh'. In Sanskrit *jaṅghā* 'shank' is clearly distinguished from *ūru* 'thigh', as can be seen from the works on the Sāmudrikaśāstra. On the shift of the meaning of *jaṅghā* from 'shank' in OIA to 'thigh' in NIA, see the examples in R.L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London ^{2}1973, s.v.

besides removing various kinds of dermatological ailments.[7] Suśruta thus indirectly supports the interpretation of the JM in so far as he suggests that the *phenaka* is not something to be applied to the whole body like the foam of the soap-nut, but that it is some special object with which certain limbs are scrubbed, be it thighs, shanks, or both.

4. *Phena* is mentioned once more in the KS in connection with the Pīṭhamarda, a hanger-on of the Nāgaraka. The Pīṭhamarda, explains the KS, owns nothing save his body; his sole possessions comprise *mallikā*, *phena* and *kaṣāya*; he is a migrant from a sophisticated part of the country and knowledgeable about the arts; he ekes out a living by giving advice on the arts in the assemblies of the Nāgarakas or in the company of the courtesans or Gaṇikās.[8]

The Pīṭhamarda thus practises a profession in which *mallikā*, *phena* and *kaṣāya* are essential requisites. In addition, he displays his knowledge of the arts and gives informed advice on these and allied matters to Nāgarakas and Gaṇikās.[9]

He is also mentioned in some late manuals on dramaturgy. Some texts see him as an advisor of the protagonist, others like the *Daśarūpaka* make him the protagonist of the sub-plot (*patākānāyaka*).[10] But no extant dramatic composition contains a character clearly designated as Pīṭhamarda, which may throw light on the nature of his profession and on the three substances which appear to characterise this profession.

5. The JM, once again, seems to come to our rescue, for it attempts to explain the name of the profession as well as the three substances. The Pīṭhamarda, says the commentary, is called so because, while delivering learned discourses on the arts to the Nāgarakas and Gaṇikās, he keeps rubbing his seat or chair (*pīṭhaṃ mṛdnātīti*) (in a fidgety sort of gesture!). This very seat is called *mallikā* derived from the root *mal* or *mall* 'to hold'. Though he is an Ācārya authorised to give instruction, his social position is such that nobody offers him a seat (*āsanaṃ tu nārhati*); so he carries his own chair on his back. In order to explain *mallikā*, a *hapax legomenon*, the JM employs another, viz. *daṇḍāsanikā*, which seems to be a small chair attached to a staff, probably held across the shoulder so that the chair can be carried on one's back. What does he do with the

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[7] *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, ed. Vaidya Priyavrat Singh, Varanasi 1960, *Cikitsāsthāna* 24.55:
ūrvoḥ sañjanayaty āśu phenakaḥ sthairyalāghave
kaṇḍūkoṭhānilasthambhamalarogāpahaś ca saḥ.
The next verse discusses the scrubbing of the body with a piece of brick (*iṣṭikayodgharṣaṇam*), a practice that is still quite common.

[8] KS 1.4.44: *avibhavas tu śarīramātro mallikāphenakaṣāyamātraparicchadaḥ pūjyād deśād āgataḥ kalāsu vicakṣaṇas tadupadeśena goṣṭhyāṃ veśocite vṛtte sādhayed ātmānam iti pīṭhamardaḥ.*

[9] In KS 1.4.44 the word *upadeśa* should probably be so understood and not as regular instruction as the JM would have it.

[10] *Daśarūpaka* 2.8:
patākānāyakas tv anyaḥ pīṭhamardo vicakṣaṇaḥ
tasyaivānucaro bhaktaḥ kiñcid ūnaś ca tadguṇaiḥ.
The commentary cites Makaranda in the *Mālatīmādhava* and Sugrīva in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as examples, but they were not so designated in either work. For the views of other texts, see Rāghavan, op.cit.

other two things? The JM avers that, though poor, his carnal desires have not subsided and hence (*pravṛttaviṣayecchatvāt*) he rubs his shanks with *phena* and *kaṣāya*.[11]

With this facile interpretation, the JM created the myth of the Pīṭhamarda who carries his own chair and rubs his shanks with *phena* and *kaṣāya* on the off chance that one of his Gaṇikā pupils, impressed no doubt by his well polished shanks, waives her customary fees. More surprising still is that almost all modern writers accepted this ridiculous concept of the JM and perpetuated the myth.[12]

But there is little in this interpretation that would bear close scrutiny. First of all, the commentary was written about a thousand years after the KS, in the thirteenth century, probably during the reign of Vīsaladeva (1243-1261) in Gujarat.[13] Yaśodhara may have had the help of older commentaries in many instances, but his words cannot be taken to represent the unbroken tradition in all cases. The forced interpretation of the words *pīṭhamarda* and *mallikā* through their etymological meaning betrays that Yaśodhara was as ignorant about their true nature as we are today.

Then too, neither the KS nor any other text suggests that the Pīṭhamarda carries a chair on his back. If his social position is too low for him to be offered a seat, then he would offend his social superiors if he brought a chair with him and sat on it in their presence. Nor is the reason for his carrying *phena* and *kaṣāya*, as emblems of his pathetic lecherousness, really convincing.

A Pīṭhamarda does appear briefly in Śūdraka's farce *Padmaprābhṛtaka*. The Viṭa encounters a Pīṭhamarda (by name Darduraka 'The Frog') but he lets him off quite easily after a brief exchange.[14] Had the Pīṭhamarda been really carrying the professorial

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[11] *mallikā daṇḍāsanikā, śarīradhāraṇāt pūrvanāgarakācāryaiḥ saṅketitā 'mala malla dharaṇe' iti dhātupaṭhāt sā tasya pṛṣṭhata evāsanārthaṃ bhrāmyate, pravṛttaviṣayecchatvāc ca jaṅghāgharṣaṇārthaṃ phenakaṣāyāv iti tanmātraṃ paricchado vibhavo yasyeti, pīṭhikādyāsanaṃ tu nārhati ... sa pīṭhamarda upadeśadāne 'dhikṛtatvān mallikākhyaṃ pīṭhaṃ mṛdnātīti kṛtvā, etenācāryavṛttam asya vṛttam.*

[12] It is neither necessary nor possible to quote all the views inspired by the JM, but two typical examples may be given here. H.C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India: A Study in Vatsyayana's Kamasutra*, Calcutta ^{2}1954, 104: 'Even if a man had no fortune of his own he might enjoy the pleasures of life as Pithamarda; he might acquire skill in the arts and go about as an itinerant professor of these at the clubs of citizens and the abodes of the Ganikas; such a man was marked by his peculiar seat (Mallika) which he hung on his back, by his dyed clothes [kaṣāya] and by some kind of soap (Phenaka) which he always carried about in order to keep himself clean.' A.K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol.I, Delhi 1972, 14: 'His name derives from a peculiar kind of portable stool *pīṭha* on a stick which he traditionally carried everywhere with him, as if it were a portable professorial chair, which he kept well polished *marda*.' Some late Sanskrit works also attempt to define the function of the Pīṭhamarda through the etymology of the word. Thus, e.g. the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Śāradātanaya, ed. Yadugiri Yatiraja Swami of Melkot and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Baroda 1930 (GOS 45), 94:

pīṭham adhyāsya purataḥ prayoktā nāyakādiṣu
sa pīṭhamardo viśvāsyaḥ kupitastrīprasādakaḥ.

Note how this stanza was transformed in the *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Basavarāja of Keḷadi, Vol.II, ed. K. Rama Sastry, Mysore 1969, 312, vv.18cd-19ab:

pīṭham adhyāsya surataprayoktā nāyakādiṣu
pīṭhamardaḥ sa viśvāsyaḥ kupitastrīprasādakaḥ.

[13] M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Vol.III, Leipzig 1920, 540n.

[14] *Caturbhāṇī*, ed. and tr. Moti Chandra and Vasudeva Saran Agrawala, Bombay 1959, 11f.

chair and the supposedly aphrodisiacal *phena* and *kaṣāya* with him, what great occasion that would have given to the Viṭa for poking fun at him!

6. Therefore, it will be prudent to abandon the wrong lead given by the JM and return to the original text. As we have seen already, the wording of the KS suggests that the Pīṭhamarda's is a special profession and that *mallikā*, *phena* and *kaṣāya* constitute his professional equipment which — it needs to be emphasised — he uses for the clients and not for himself. It is also obvious that the *phena* here is not unconnected with the *phenaka* in 1.4.17. The JM lays stress on his professorship (*ācāryavṛtta*) and interprets *mallikā* as a chair essential for his teaching career. If that were so, the other two items should also have some connection with this profession.

Another possibility is to take the three items as perfumery articles and the Pīṭhamarda as a perfumer. The fact that *mallikā* is also the name of a fragrant flower and that one of the many meanings of *kaṣāya* is 'fragrance' may lend support to this view, but then how to explain *tṛtīyakaḥ phenakaḥ* without resorting to unsubstantiated speculations?

A better approach is to read the two *sūtras* 1.4.17 and 44 together. The former, it may be recalled, enjoins that the Nāgaraka should have *phenaka* every third day; the other *sūtra* says that the *phena(ka)* is part of the Pīṭhamarda's equipment. It does not then require great flights of imagination to see that it is the Pīṭhamarda's business to apply *phena(ka)* to the fashionable man every third day, just as it is the job of the masseur to give him a massage every second day and that of the barber to shave him every fourth day. Thus the Pīṭhamarda's primary function is to visit the houses of the Nāgarakas regularly and apply *phena(ka)*.

7. If *phenaka* were just the soap-nut or its foam, applying the foam to the body would be part of the bath and not constitute a separate act, nor would it require the professional attention of a Pīṭhamarda. *Phenaka*, therefore, must be understood here as the shortened form of *samudraphena(ka)* or *abdhiphena(ka)*, the Sanskrit names for the cuttlefish bone, which is actually the internal shell of a mollusc called sepia or cuttlefish. Raghavan[15] and Kane[16], in fact, accepted this meaning but did not bother to enquire what this thing looked like; so they unnecessarily assumed that this bone is powdered and applied to the shanks or thighs.

The shell is a very light ovoid piece, its upper side formed by a thin convex shell and the underside by layers of flaky chalk-like substance. It is called *samudraphena*[17] (lit. 'sea-foam') because it is white and very light like foam and is in fact washed up by

[15] Op.cit., p.51n: 'From all this it appears reasonable to suppose that Phenaka is Samudraphenaka and its powder with which the shanks or thighs were rubbed to ensure their strength and lightness, and the rubbing itself thereby came to be called Phenaka. Kaṣāya, occurring along with it, in the same act, is evidently another powder ...'

[16] See n.30 below.

[17] The word survives in this form in Bengali and Hindi. The Tamil *kaṭal-nurai* also means literally 'sea foam'. In Oṛiyā, however, the shell is conceived of as the 'tongue of the sea' (*samudrajibbha*), while the Telugus call it 'fish excrement' (*cepa-piyya*).

the waves and deposited on the beach along with the foam. Aside from its supposed medicinal properties, it is used for polishing mirrors or cleaning glass panes.[18]

Considering that it is a very light and flaky object, application of its very fine powder could not have served any physical purpose. But applying the bone itself, or more precisely, rubbing the shanks or thighs with the soft underside of the shell will achieve something that was thought desirable in ancient India, viz. the removal of excess hair. In short, the cuttlefish bone was used like the pumice stone today.[19] The rubbing has to be done rather frequently so that the hair does not grow again; hence the stipulation of every third day. Of course, because the underside of the shell is soft, repeated scrubbings with it will not cause pain.

8. But why at all should one take this trouble and have the shanks or thighs rubbed every third day with a cuttlefish bone by a Pīṭhamarda? Unlike the manly ideal of hairy chest and legs today, in ancient India apparently it was considered auspicious and fashionable to have hairless and smooth shanks. Thus Varāhamihira states that a man with sparse and thin hair on his shanks is destined to become a king. Other texts on the Sāmudrikaśāstra praise hairless shanks and censure hirsute ones.[20] This then is the justification for a profession whose plier was called Pīṭhamarda.

Especially in the Nāgaraka milieu, hairless and smooth shanks seem to have been regarded as fashionable. Since the application of the *phenaka* is rather an intimate act and since it had to be performed so frequently, it is no wonder that the Pīṭhamarda is

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[18] On the medicinal properties of the *samudraphena*, see Bhāvamiśra, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, commented and annotated by Brahmaśaṅkara Śāstrī and Rūpalālajī Vaiśya, Varanasi [4]1960, *Miśraprakaraṇa* (= *Nighaṇṭu(-bhāga)* in other editions), Harītakyādi-varga, 118f. (p.217f.). Calcium carbonate constitutes 80 to 85 per cent of the *samudraphena*. Therefore, it is given to cage birds to peck at; in this process the birds get some calcium into their system. The *Arthaśāstra* recommends its employment in one of the magical practices meant to cause wonder and awe in the heart of the enemy. Cf. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, ed. and tr. R.P. Kangle, Bombay [2]1969-72, 14.2.36: *samudraphenas tailayukto 'mbhasi plavamāno jvalati*. Kangle's translation 'sea-foam, soaked in oil, burns floating in water' makes it difficult to understand the process. What is meant is actually this: impregnate the soft part of the cuttlefish bone with oil, light it and set it afloat on water; it will continue to burn and look like a flame floating on water. It is obvious that Kauṭilya himself never resorted to this stratagem to frighten the enemy. I tried to perform this 'magic', but in vain. The soft part absorbs oil of all kinds, yet it does not catch fire.

[19] Dr G. Jan Meulenbeld kindly drew my attention to Maria Christopher Byrski, 'Is there a Sanskrit Word for Pumice', *Indologia Taurinensia*, 8-9, 1980-81, 67-70. Byrski deserves credit for recognising the pumice-like function of *phenaka*, but he still believes that the Pīṭhamarda applied it to his own thighs.

[20] *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ed. Avadha Vihārī Tripāṭhī, Varanasi 1968, ch.67 (Puruṣalakṣaṇādhyāya), 4 (= vol.II, pp.738f.):

praviralatanuromavṛttajaṅghā dviradakarapratimair vorubhiś ca
upacitasamajānavaś ca bhūpā dhanarahitāḥ śvaśṛgālatulyajaṅghāḥ.

In his commentary on the next verse, Utpala cites this anonymous line:

romaśābhiś tu jaṅghābhir duḥkhadāridryabhāginaḥ.

This attitude prevails throughout in the literature on *Strīpuruṣalakṣaṇa*, cf. *Vīramitrodaya — Lakṣaṇaprakāśa by Mitra Miśra*, ed. Vishnu Prasad, Benares 1916, 48f. The *Śivatattvaratnākara* (op.cit.), chronologically the last of our sources, states succinctly (vol.II, 410):

kramād vṛtte praśasyete jaṅghe snigdhe tv aromake.

regarded as the confidant of the Nāgaraka in matters amorous. That he combines his profession with some dabbling in arts is also then understandable.[21]

9. Now *kaṣāya* and *mallikā* must also be some objects or substances needed in the Pīṭhamarda's profession. In the case of the former, there is clear evidence that it was a powder or paste of fragrant medicinal substances with which the limbs were massaged. In the *Mahābhārata*, we hear of Yudhiṣṭhira being 'massaged with *kaṣāya*' (*utsāditaḥ kaṣāyeṇa*).[22]

It will be recalled that the KS prescribes massage (*utsādana*) every second day. Now *kaṣāya* is the substance with which this massage is done; it is also one of the three items in the Pīṭhamarda's professional equipment. This would suggest that the Pīṭhamarda also performed the task of massage or that at least he applied the *kaṣāya* paste to the Nāgaraka's shanks after having depilated them by means of the *phenaka*.

10. There now remains the third item *mallikā*. It is, of course, conceivable that the Pīṭhamarda carried on his back a chair, strung to a pole held across his shoulder, not for himself to sit and dilate on the finer points of erotics as the late *Śivatattvaratnākara* avers,[23] but for the Nāgaraka-client to sit upon while he himself squatted on the floor and rubbed the client's shanks with the cuttlefish bone.[24] If that was the case, there is no evidence to show that the chair was indeed called *mallikā*, except for the dubious statement of the JM.

Therefore, we must seek the meaning of *mallikā* elsewhere. The masculine form *mallaka* occurs in the *Cullavagga* in connection with the monk's ablutions, where it is said that one bathes with *mallaka* (*mallakena nahāyanti*). Buddhaghoṣa explains in his commentary that this is a kind of brush made of roots, crocodile teeth and the like for scrubbing the body — an explanation which is not wholly convincing.[25] According to lexica, on the other hand, *mallaka* (m) as well as *mallikā* (f) denote a small earthenware

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[21] Likewise the barber's role is also extended as confidant, go-between, match-maker and, in south Indian temples, drummer.

[22] *Mahābhārata*, Critical edition, 7.58.10 (= Chitrashala Press, Poona ed. 7.82.10):
utsāditaḥ kaṣayeṇa balavadbhiḥ suśikṣitaiḥ
āplutaḥ sādhivāsena jalena ca sugandhinā.
The crucial words are explained in the commentaries thus: *utsādita udvartitaḥ kaṣāyādinā lodhrādinā* (Devabodha); *kaṣāyeṇety atra kaṣāyo nāma nānauṣadhirasaiḥ parimalaiś ca sahitaṃ snānīyacūrṇaṃ kaṣāya ity ucyate* (Vādirājatīrtha); *kaṣāyeṇa sarvauṣadhyādikalkena* (Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara). The above stanza and the commentaries were cited by P. K. Gode, 'History of the Practice of Massage in Ancient and Medieval India — Between c. B.C. 1000 and A.D. 1000', reprinted in op.cit. (in n.3) pp.114-138, esp. p.128.

[23] See n. 12 above.

[24] For this function also, an etymology can be manufactured thus: *pīṭhasyopari sthāpayitvā nāgarakaṃ jaṅghe tasya mṛdnātīti pīṭhamardaḥ*. But there is also the possibility that the word is a MIA form of *piṣṭamarda*, 'one who massages with paste'.

[25] See *Cullavagga* 5.1.1f.; SBE Vol.XX, p.68; T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London 1921-1925, s.v. *mallaka*; see also Gode, 'History of Massage...,' p.126.

vessel with a narrow mouth in which is kept the oil for bath or massage.[26] If this was indeed the meaning intended by the author of the KS, *mallikā* then may not have been any random pot, but one having a distinctive shape, in order to be associated with the Pīṭhamarda's profession. Happily enough, such a vessel is still in use; not only is it used for a similar purpose, even its name is derived from the word *mallikā*.

In eastern Uttar Pradesh, *maliyā* (MIA/NIA from *mallikā*) is the name of a special type of container, which consists of two boat-shaped bowls hinged together. When closed, these form a hollow casket. There is a ring at one end to suspend the casket. This *maliyā* casket contains mustard paste with which children are massaged daily in order to remove superfluous hair from their limbs.[27] Can there be anything better suited to the professional needs of the Pīṭhamarda? Therefore, it is entirely possible that the Pīṭhamarda of the KS carried the *kaṣāya* paste in such a *mallikā* container, probably suspended from his waist together with a cuttlefish bone (*phenaka*), as he went about his daily rounds.

11. Thus the Pīṭhamarda appears to be the male counterpart of the Sairandhrī, an independent female who visited the houses of wealthy women and helped them with their make-up. The texts describe her as an expert in coiffure.[28] But strangely enough, both the professions did not enjoy wide prevalence and appear to have ceased quite early. Probably such a specialisation in profession was not in demand, housemaids doing the task of the Sairandhrī and the barber the job of the Pīṭhamarda. That is why the real function of the Pīṭhamarda was soon forgotten and only his designation lingered on in the manuals of dramaturgy.[29]

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[26] Cf. *Medinīkośa*, Varanasi 1968, p.13, v.138: *mallikā tṃaśūnye 'pi mīnamṛtpātrabhedayoh*; Hemacandra, *Deśināmamālā* 6.145: *mallayam apūvabhee sarāvakosuṃbhacasaesu*; *Hindī Śabdasāgara*, s.v. *maliyā*; George A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life, being a Discursive Catalogue of the Surroundings of the People of that Province*, reprint Delhi 1975, §§ 663, 701, 713.

[27] I am highly obliged to Shri Jang Bahadur Singh of my Department for this information.

[28] Cf. *Amarakoṣa* 2.6.18: *sairandhrī paraveśmasthā svavaśā śilpakārikā*. The *Rāmāśramī* commentary on this quotes the following from Kātya:

catuḥṣaṣṭikalābhijñā śīlarūpādisevinī
prasādhanopacārajñā sairandhrī parikīrtitā.

Arriving as a Sairandhrī at Virāṭa's court, Draupadī says what all she can do, in *Mahābhārata*, Critical edition, 4.8.16:

keśāñ jānāmy ahaṃ kartuṃ piṃśe sādhu vilepanam
grathayiṣye vicitrāś ca srajaḥ paramaśobhanāḥ.

[29] *Pīṭhamaddiā*, the feminine form of Pīṭhamarda, is to be met with in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, 13f. Seeing the queen enter the audience chamber in the company of the female ascetic Paṇḍitakauśikī, the Vidūṣaka exclaims: *ayi avaṭṭhidā devī pīṭhamaddiāṃ paṇḍiakosiīṃ purokaria tattabhodī dhāriṇī*. This, however, does not mean that there existed female Pīṭhamardas but, as Raghavan rightly observes (op.cit., p.50n), the Vidūṣaka is attributing, in jest, the qualities of the Pīṭhamarda to the lady ascetic. Raghavan quotes Kāṭayavema's commentary on this passage, which states: *atra vidūṣakaḥ parihāsena parivrājikāyāṃ taddharmam āropayatīti mantavyam.*

12. But *phenaka* was applied as a depilatory as late as the seventh century. Describing King Harṣavardhana when he first met him, Bāṇa says in his *Harṣacarita* that the king's thighs shone with extra lustre brought about by the cuttlefish bone.[30]

[30] *The Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, ed. P.V. Kane, Delhi 1965, 33: *phenāhitaśobhābhyāṃ ... ūrudaṇḍābhyām*. In his notes, p.144, Kane renders the passage thus: 'his thighs that were charming looked more beautiful by being rubbed over with the polishing powder of white cuttle-fish bone (*phenaḥ*).' Śaṅkara in his commentary (*Harṣacarita* with the commentary of Śaṅkara and Hindi translation by Jagannātha Pāṭhaka, Benares 1958, 117) explains *phena* as *pheno rasasantānaḥ*. The *Marmāvabodhinī* of Raṅganātha (*Harṣa Carita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa with the commentary *Marmāvabodhinī*, ed. Śūranāḍ Kuñjan Pillai, Trivandrum 1958, p.105) reads *phenakāhita*° and avers that *phenakaṃ vīrāṇām ālepanaviśeṣaḥ, śarīrāṇāṃ śobhādhānārthaṃ mardanavilepanādayaḥ. utkīṃabinducitraṃ vastram iti kecit*. The Ms *ka* used for this edition has a gloss in Tamil, which explains *phenaka* as *paṇaṅkaḷ* 'palm toddy' which, of course, has a lot of froth. Rubbing with toddy is said to remove arthritic pain from the joints but that surely is not the purport of the statements of the KS and of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

Investigations on Nimba Arishta, an Immunomodulating Ayurvedic Drug Obtained by Fermentation

Burt H. Kroes, Albert J.J. van den Berg, K. Tuley D. de Silva, Rudi P. Labadie

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of the traditional healing system Ayurveda (*āyurveda*) to Sri Lanka is traditionally ascribed to Vijaya in about 500 B.C. Ayurvedic medicine has been very popular in this country since ancient times. In the private medical sector today, for instance, services offered by Ayurvedic practitioners exceed those offered by physicians trained in Western medicine by a factor of ten to sixteen (Middelkoop 1984).

The objectives of Ayurveda have been described by Sharma 1979 as 'the maintenance of metabolic equilibrium of the human psychosomatic machine and the restoration of the same if the homoeostasis is upset or disturbed by undesirable factors.' Thus, besides treatment of diseases, Ayurveda also lays stress on maintenance of health. Treatment according to Ayurvedic principles comprises application of a large number of drugs and diets, as well as surgical approaches. More than two thousand drugs described in the Ayurvedic Materia Medica are prepared from medicinal plants (De Silva 1980).

In our search for immunomodulative plant constituents, *Azadirachta indica* A. Juss. (Meliaceae) (*nimba* in Sanskrit) was selected for further investigation from a series of plants used by Ayurvedic practitioners (Labadie et al. 1989; Van der Nat 1989). In classical texts of Ayurveda, such as the Caraka-Saṃhitā and the Suśruta-Saṃhitā, *Azadirachta indica* is mentioned as to be used for the treatment of skin diseases (rashes), inflammations and fevers (Van der Nat 1989). The bark of *Azadirachta indica* was found to contain several catechins, gallic acid and some polysaccharides which were all shown to possess strong immunomodulating properties (ibid.). However, *Azadirachta* bark is seldom used as such, but most often in the fermented drug Nimba Arishta (*nimba ariṣṭa*).

Arishtas (*ariṣṭa*s) and asavas (*āsava*s) are Ayurvedic preparations commonly used in Sri Lanka. Arishtas are prepared in a fermentation vessel from a decoction of medicinal plant material(s) mixed with sugar or honey. After the addition of dried flowers of *Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) Kurz. (Lythraceae), occasionally supplemented with dried parts of other plants, the vessel is sealed. Subsequently, the mixture is fermented anaerobically for one month, after which a weakly alcoholic product is obtained. When unprocessed plant material is used instead of a decoction, the drug is called 'asava' (Nadkarni 1954). Although all preparations are marketed under the official names mentioned in the *Ayurveda Pharmacopoeia* 1976; 1979, manufacturing companies often use their own (secret) formulae and methods of preparation, which may result in a variation of the biological activity and the therapeutic effect of the commercially available drugs. Nimba Arishta is one of the arishtas most commonly used in Sri Lanka. It is administered as blood-purifier, anthelmintic, and as a treatment for rashes.

The influence of formulae and preparation (fermentation) methods on the biological (immunomodulating) activity of Nimba Arishta is also the subject of our current research. To gather information on the composition and fermentation procedures for the preparation of arishtas and asavas, in particular of Nimba Arishta, a field study was con-

ducted in Sri Lanka among practitioners of Ayurveda and manufacturers of Ayurvedic drugs. The findings of this field work are reported in the first part of this paper. During our visit several commercially available Nimba Arishtas of different origin were collected for further examination at our laboratory. The results of these investigations are described and discussed in the second part.

FIELD STUDY

The field study was conducted in the Kandy, Colombo and Galle districts of Sri Lanka. The drug manufacturing companies visited were the Ayurveda Drugs Corporation (Colombo), BMARI (Colombo), Gampaha Siddhayurveda Drugs Factory (Yakkala), Bimal Chemicals Industries (Kolonnawa, Wellampitiya), Ayurveda Municipal Manufacturing Company (Colombo), Mahanuwara Drugs Company Ltd. (Kandy), Sepatha Medical Factory (Colombo), and Gokula Factory (Gampaha). In addition, the Ayurveda Hospital (Borella), the Institute of Indigenous Medicines (Colombo), and the community of Ayurvedic practitioners in Wedagama were visited. Individual pactitioners of Ayurveda were interviewed whenever they were met.

The use of arishtas and asavas is very popular in Sri Lanka. Amounts of these drugs yearly produced by the Ayurveda Drugs Corporation are listed in the following table:

Quantities in litres of fermented drugs
produced by the Ayurveda Drugs Corporation (ADC) in Sri Lanka
(This company claims to manufacture 75 % of the Ayurvedic drugs commercially available in Sri Lanka)

	1984	1985	1986
Asavas	59321	69005	68545
Arishtas	48316	81049	65177

These fermented products account for 82% of sales from this factory (Middelkoop 1984). They are used for the treatment of various diseases, and as tonics. According to Ayurvedic physicians, the fermented preparations possess a moderate potency and are therefore administered in the convalescent phase of a disease, whereas the more potent decoctions are preferred for the treatment of acute disorders. Only mild (fermented) preparations should be used during recovery, because of the weakened digestive system of the patient. For diseases which require a long-term treatment, arishtas or asavas are also prescribed, because they are not perishable. However, arishtas and asavas are most often applied as tonics, and it is generally believed that daily comsumption of these fermentation products can prevent sickness.

A diagram of the manufacturing process of arishtas and asavas is presented by Figure 1 on the next page. The next subsections deal with the several stages of the preparation and fermentation procedures.

Ingredients

Arishtas and asavas are very complex preparations. They may contain constituents from up to 69 different plant species (Burman 1976). It was found during our field study that in general arishtas have only one main ingredient, whereas for the preparation of asavas equal amounts of the different plants are used. In addition, arishtas are prepared from hard plant materials such as wood or bark, and asavas from softer plant parts such as leaves or flowers. Ingredients for arishtas are cut into small pieces, ingredients for asavas are ground into powder.

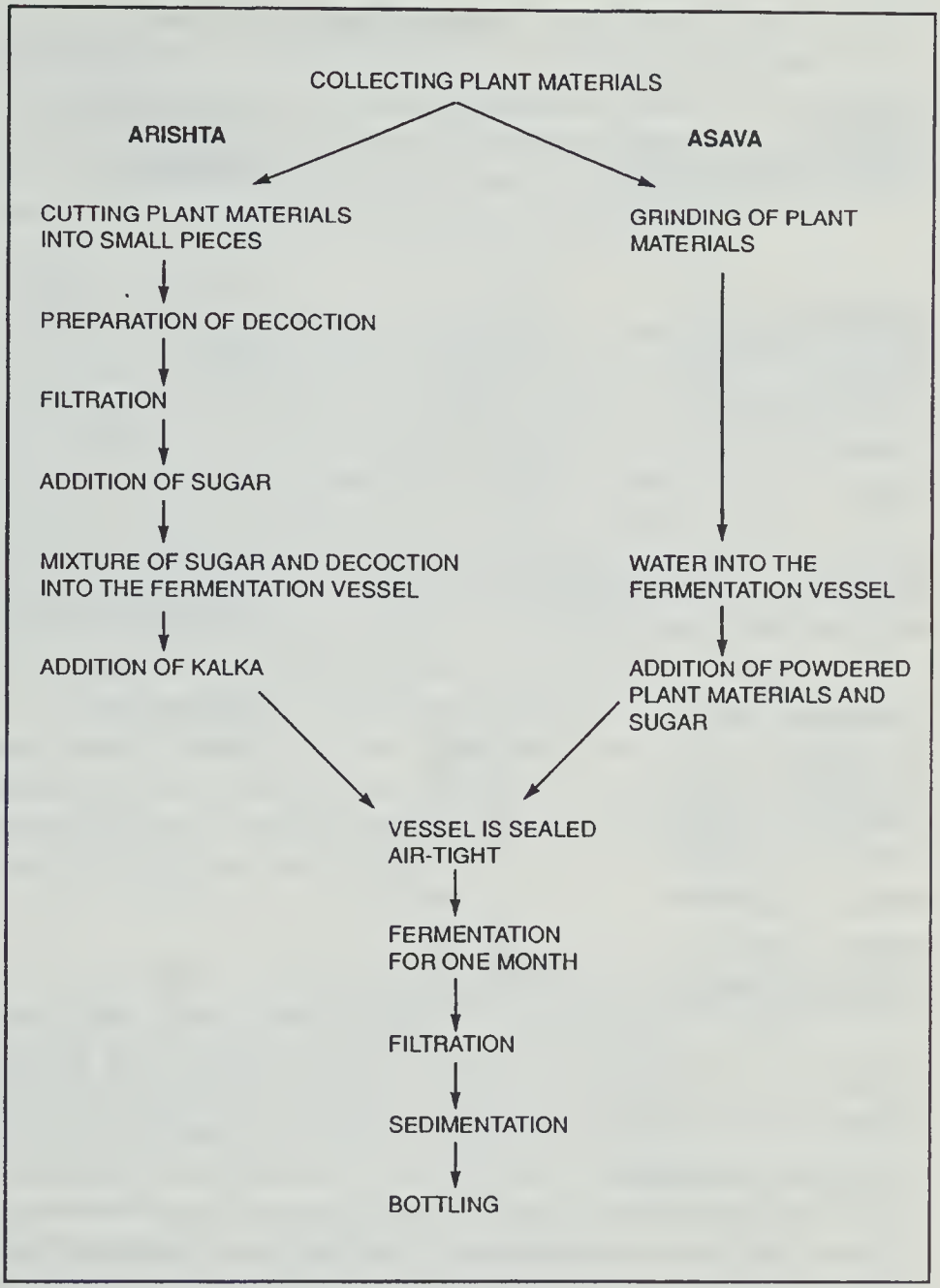


Figure 1: Diagram of the preparation process of arishtas and asavas according to Ayurvedic drug companies in Sri lanka.

In Sri Lanka, all arishtas and asavas are marketed under the traditional names mentioned in the *Ayurveda Pharmacopoeia* 1976; 1979. The fact that preparations from different manufacturing companies have identical names suggests a uniformity of the products. By examination of available recipes for Nimba Arishta from two different factories it was found, however, that commercial preparations with the same name can differ considerably with regard to their ingredients, as the following table shows:

Recipes of Nimba Arishtas

Municipal Manufacturing Company			**Ayurveda Drugs Corporation**		
Azadirachta indica	192	kg	*Azadirachta indica*	102	kg
Terminalia bellerica	12	kg	Water	4104	l
Phyllanthus emblica	12	kg			
Terminalia chebula	12	kg			
Water	3000	l			
Boil till 750 l, filter and add 450 kg of sugar and the powder of			Boil till 513 l, filter and add 310 kg of sugar, and the powder of		
Azadirachta indica	3	kg	*Embelia ribes*	5.5	kg
Terminalia bellerica	3	kg			
Phyllanthus emblica	3	kg			
Terminalia chebula	3	kg			
Hemidesmus indicus	3	kg			
Cyperus rotundus	3	kg			
Woodfordia fruticosa	12	kg			
Ferment for one month.			Ferment for one month.		

Preparation of decoctions

It was mentioned by Ayurvedic physicians that not all active components from hard plant materials (used for arishtas) will be sufficiently extracted by the fermentation procedure only. The main ingredient of an aristha is therefore extracted by boiling with water before fermentation is started. The boiling time is dependent on the hardness of the plant material used, and is determined by the time needed to reduce the initial volume to 1/4 or 1/8 as indicated by the *Ayurveda Pharmacopoeia* 1976; 1979. In general, quantities processed by factories require boiling times from five to seven days. Boiling procedures take place only during working hours from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., while during the night the systems are kept on a small fire to prevent the preparations from cooling too much. At the end of the extraction procedure, the mixture is filtered through a cloth.

Sugar

Among physicians and manufacturers there is consensus that jaggery, a traditional sort of raw sugar, is the best starting material for fermentation. In practice, however, all manufacturers use white or brown cane sugar, since the supply of jaggery is very limited.

Occasionally, certain preparations are supplemented with honey, dried grapes or dates, in combination with cane sugar.

Sugar is added to the filtered decoction in a concentration of 40 to 50% (g/v). This amount of sugar is needed for an optimal progress of the fermentation process. Manufacturers reported that lower concentrations of sugar result in inferior products which are characterized by the absence of alcohol, a sour taste and bad smell.

Fermentation vessel

Originally earthen vessels, which were buried in the ground during the fermentation process, were used, and throughout our inquiry all persons interviewed were confident that this method provides the best condition. Strangely, however, nobody applies this procedure. Whatever the reason for the abandonment of the procedure, it must be concluded that this classical method is only history with respect to today's practice in Sri Lanka. In factories, upscaling of the production has led to the replacement of earthen vessels by large wooden barrels. Occasionally, earthen vessels are used for some asavas which are produced in smaller quantities. Although in two factories 100-litre porcelain vessels were buried, most commonly vessels are kept on the surface during fermentation. When the same arishta or asava is prepared, vessels are not washed between two fermentation processes. For the preparation of a different arishta or asava the vessel needs to be cleaned with water and is dried in the sun thereafter. Some manufacturers use sodium carbonate for cleaning. New vessels are seasoned before use. They are first fumigated and then smeared with ghee, a kind of clarified butter. Subsequently the vessels are filled with water and stored for several months.

Kalka

For the preparation of an arishta, a kalka (*kalka*) is added to the mixture of the decoction and sugar in the fermentation vessel; this kalka is a mixture of powdered plant materials, among which are also those which have been used to prepare the decoction. When an asava is prepared, all powdered ingredients of the preparation as well as sugar are added to the prescribed amount of water. Intact dried flowers of *Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) Kurz. (Lythraceae) (Malitha mal — *malitha mal* — in Sinhalese), which are also considered to be a kalka ingredient, are added to both arishtas and asavas. Although *Woodfordia fruticosa* trees are found in Sri Lanka, Malitha mal used by the manufacturing companies is imported from India. All manufacturers state that Malitha mal is an important ingredient essential for the regulation of the fermentation process. There is however unclarity about the exact impact (or role) of the flowers, since some Ayurvedic fermentation specialists presume enhancement and others reduction of the gas production (carbon dioxide) through Malitha mal.

Fermentation

Gas production starts within forty-eight hours after addition of the kalka and sugar. Most manufacturers cover the vessel during the first two to five days of the fermentation only with a cloth to prevent the vessel from breaking. When the production of gas diminishes, the vessel is sealed air-tight with several layers of cloth and clay. The fermentation time for both arishtas and asavas is one month from the moment the vessel is sealed.

Sedimentation and bottling

After fermentation, the broth is filtered through a cloth. Subsequently the turbid filtrate is allowed to sediment for two to fourteen days before bottling. In the case of two days of sedimentation, it was found that the bottled arishtas still contained (produced) gas. A part of the contents was spilled upon opening of these bottles. Longer sedimentation times probably result in a more complete termination of the fermentation process and are therefore preferable.

LABORATORY RESEARCH

Nimba Arishtas were obtained from the Ayurveda Drugs Corporation (ADC), Gampaha Siddhayurveda Drugs Factory (GAM), Bimal Chemical Industries (BIM), Mahanuwara Drugs Company Ltd. (MAD), Ayurveda Municipal Manufacturing Company (AMM), and Gokula Factory (GOK). The arishtas were subjected to chemical analyses to determine their pH, and contents of alcohol, sugars, and gallic acid. The Nimba Arishtas were also tested in vitro for their immunomodulating activities on the humoral (complement) and a cellular (polymorphonuclear leukocytes) part of the immune system.

Methods

All results of chemical and immunological assays are expressed as mean-values ± S.D.

Quantitative determination of sugar

Sugar analyses were performed by high-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) using a Kratos Spectroflow 400 apparatus. Sugars were separated on a prepacked Hypersil 5 um APS column, 3 mm i.d. × 10 cm (Chrompack cat. no. 28298). The mobile phase consisted of acetonitril and water (87 : 13); the flow rate was 0.5 ml/min. The carbohydrates were detected by a differential refractometer (Waters R401), operated at 25 °C. Quantitative determinations were performed in duplicate. Linear detector responses ($r = 0.999$) were obtained for saccharose, glucose and fructose in the range of 18 to 50 µg per injection.

Quantitative analysis of gallic acid

For the quantitative analysis of gallic acid, 80 µg of *p*-hydroxybenzoic acid was added as an internal standard to dilutions of the Nimba Arishtas as well as reference solutions of gallic acid (Roth). Subsequently, the mixtures were extracted three times with diethyl ether. The organic layers were combined and evaporated to dryness under a stream of nitrogen. Residues were dissolved in water and subjected to HPLC analysis.

HPLC analysis was performed by use of a Beckman Model 342 gradient liquid chromatograph in combination with a Chromatopac C-R1B data processor (Shimadzu). Gallic acid and *p*-hydroxybenzoic acid were separated on a prepacked Chromspher C_{18} column, 3 mm i.d. × 10 cm (Chrompack cat. no. 28410). A mixture of methanol and a solution of 1% acetic acid in water (20 : 80) served as mobile phase; the flow rate was 0.75 ml/min. The compounds were detected at 280 nm. Quantitative determinations were performed in duplicate. A linear calibration curve was obtained for the concen-

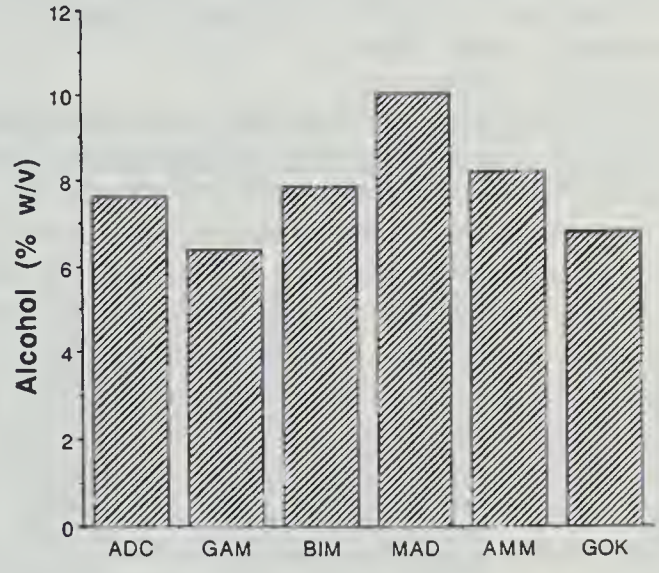
trations of gallic acid versus peak-area ratios of gallic acid to *p*-hydroxybenzoic acid within the range of 0.4 to 1.2 µg gallic acid per injection.

Determination of the alcohol content

For the quantitative determination of ethanol, 100 µl of a solution of isopropanol in water (1 mg/ml) was added as an internal standard to 200 µl of reference solutions of ethanol as well as diluted samples of Nimba Arishtas. From these mixtures, 1 µl was injected into a Model 2100 Varian gas chromatograph with a FI detector. The column used (4.2 mm i.d. × 180 cm) was packed with 10% Hallcomid on Chromosorb-WAW (80 — 100 mesh); the column temperature was maintained at 60 °C, whereas injection port and detector block were operated at 200 °C. The carrier gas was nitrogen flowing at 30 ml/min. Ratios of peak-heights of ethanol to isopropanol were plotted versus ethanol concentrations, resulting in a linear correlation within the range of 0.11 to 1.1 mg ethanol/ml reference solution.

Complement assay

Classical and alternative pathway complement activities were determined in human serum using a micro-assay with respectively sensitized sheep erythrocytes and normal rabbit erythrocytes as target cells (Van der Nat et al. 1987; Klerx et al. 1983). Tests were performed in duplicate.



(ADC = Ayurveda Drugs Corporation; GAM = Gampaha Siddhayurveda Drugs Factory; BIM = Bimal Chemical Industries; MAD = Mahanuwara Drugs Company Ltd.; AMM = Ayurveda Municipal Manufacturing Company; GOK = Gokula Factory).

Figure 2: Alcohol contents of Nimba Arishtas obtainable in Sri Lanka

Chemiluminescence assay for phagocytic activity

Chemiluminescence assays were performed by the method described by Van der Nat et al. 1987. In brief, isolated human polymorphonuclear leukocytes (PMNs) were incubated with dilutions of Nimba Arishtas in the presence of a light enhancer (luminol). Subsequent stimulation of PMNs with opsonized zymosan particles resulted in a respiratory burst which was measured as chemiluminescence in a Packard Picolite Model 6500 luminometer during 16 min. The peak levels (PL), which are reached after 8 to 10 min., were used to calculate the activity of the sample in comparison with a control. Modulating effects on the chemiluminescence are expressed as $PL_{sample}/ PL_{control}$ x 100%. Tests were performed in duplicate.

Isolation of yeast

Sediments (0.1 ml) from commercial Nimba Arishtas were plated on YM medium which consisted of 3 g yeast extract, 5 g peptone, 10 g glucose, 17 g lyophillized malt extract (Serva, Heidelberg, Germany), and 20 g agar per litre deionized water. Plates were anaerobically incubated in a Gaspack plus system (BBL Microbiology System, Cockeysville MD, USA) at 30 °C. Single colonies that developed after three days were checked for purity by streaking on YM medium after which they were identified at the Centraal Bureau voor Schimmelcultures (CBS, Baarn, The Netherlands).

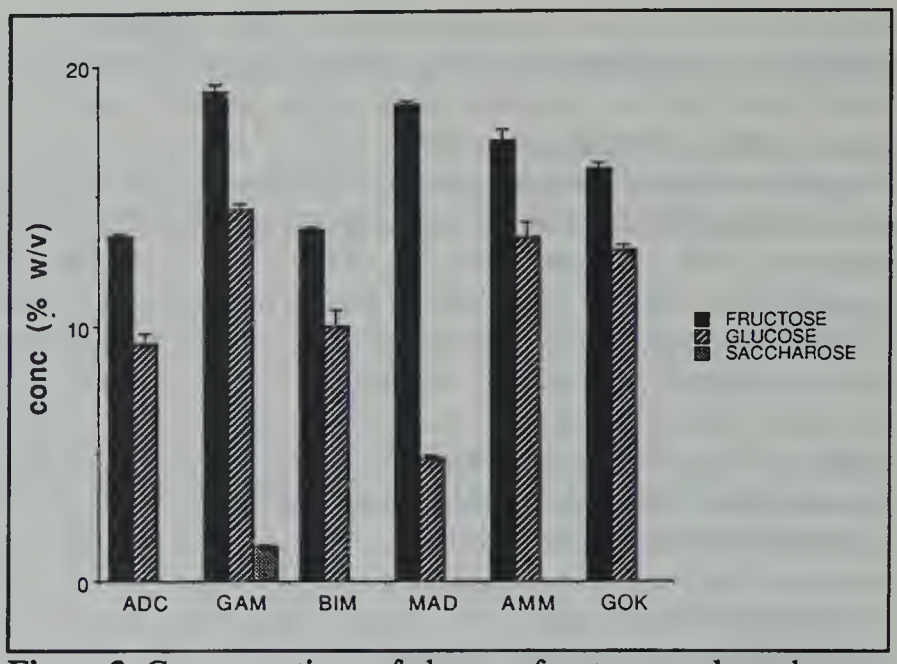


Figure 3: Concentrations of glucose, fructose, and saccharose in Nimba Arishtas.

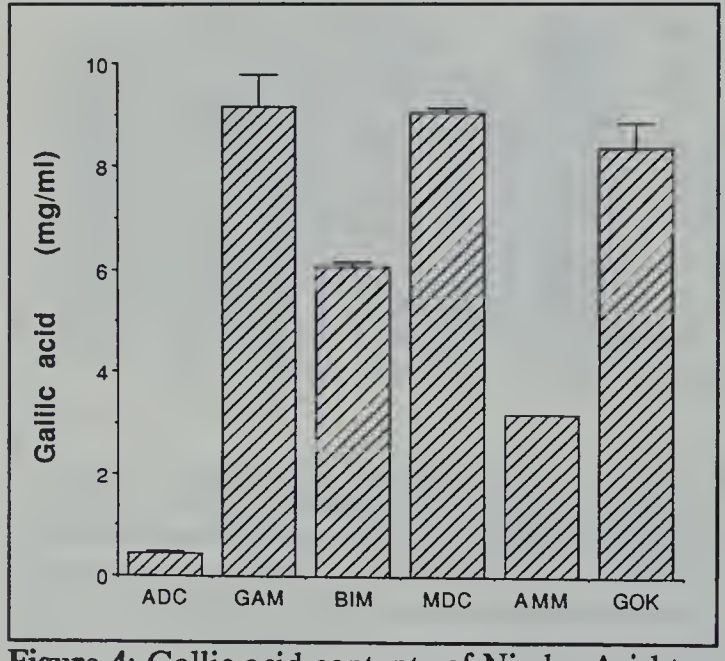


Figure 4: Gallic acid contents of Nimba Arishtas.

Results and discussion

Commercial preparations of Nimba Arishta are bottled in quantities of 0.75 l. These fermentation products have a dark brown color, an alcohol odour and a bittersweet taste. On the bottom of the bottles a grey-brown sediment is usually visible. From the sediments two yeasts could be isolated which were identified as *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* Hansen and *Schizosaccharomyces pombe* Linder var. *pombe*. The pH of the arishtas was rather low and varied from 3.20 to 3.58.

Ethanol was found to be present in all preparations (Figure 2) and varied between 6 and 10% (g/v). Ayurvedic physicians generally consider alcohol to be an important ingredient of arishtas. They state that alcohol promotes the absorption of active compounds from the gastro-intestinal tract and, in addition, contributes to the preservation of the preparations. Our inquiry among consultants also revealed that in preparing an arishta the alcohol should arise only through fermentation.

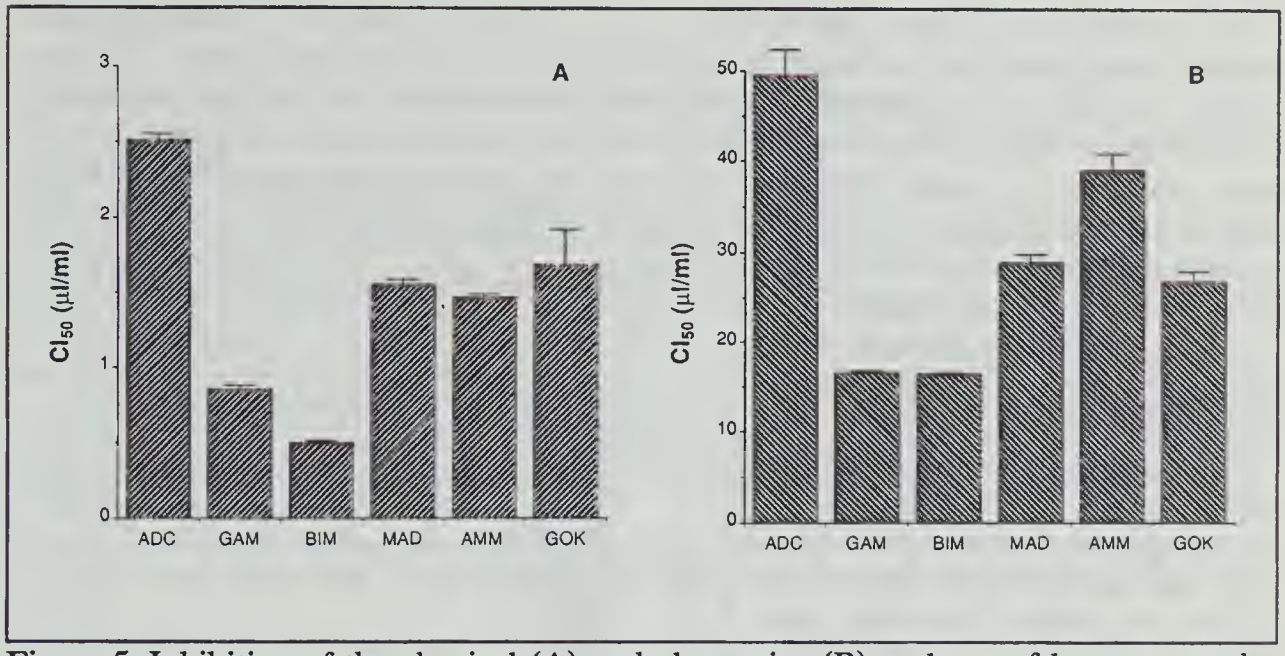


Figure 5: Inhibition of the classical (A) and alternative (B) pathway of human complement by some Nimba Arishtas commercially available in Sri Lanka.

The sweet taste of the arishtas already indicates the presence of large amounts of sugar(s). It was found that the total sugar concentration ranged from 22.3 to 33.5 % (w/v). Although all manufacturers use saccharose for the preparation, all arishtas investigated contained large amounts of fructose and glucose instead. A minor amount of saccharose could be detected only in the Nimba Arishta from the Gampaha Siddhayurveda Drugs Factory (Figure 3). These results show that saccharose is hydrolyzed during the fermentation process, probably through the action of enzymes from micro-organisms. Stewart and Russell 1985 demonstrated that yeast cells are capable of hydrolyzing saccharose outside the cell membrane by an extracellular invertase. Hydrolysis of saccharose results in equimolar amounts of glucose and fructose. Yet in all of the preparations we investigated the glucose concentrations were shown to be lower than fructose concentrations (Figure 3). This may indicate that the fermenting micro-organisms have a preference for glucose as carbon source.

(+)-Catechin, (-)-epicatechin, (+)-gallocatechin, epigallocatechin, and gallic acid, isolated from the bark of *Azadirachta indica*, have been shown to inhibit the zymosan induced chemiluminescence of human polymorpho-nuclear leucocytes (PMN). These phenolic compounds may contribute to the claimed anti-inflammatory effects of preparations from Nimba (*Azadirachta*) (Van der Nat 1989). Phytochemical analysis of the commercial Nimba Arishtas revealed that gallic acid strongly dominates among the phenols mentioned above, although levels of gallic acid were found to differ considerably (Figure 4). The gallic acid content of the Nimba Arishta from the Gampaha Siddhayurveda Drugs Factory exceeded that of the product from the Ayurveda Drugs Corporation by a factor of twenty.

Since hydrolysis of saccharose results in an increase of the osmolarity, and gallic acid is known to act as an anti-oxidant, it can be concluded that low pH, alcohol formation, hydrolysis of saccharose, as well as the presence of gallic acid contribute to the preservation of Nimba Arishta.

All arishtas investigated inhibited, in vitro, human complement activation (both classical and alternative pathways) and zymosan induced chemiluminescence of human PMNs. CI_{50} values (concentrations giving 50% inhibition) of the arishtas in µl/ml in complement and chemiluminescence assays are presented by Figures 5A, 5B and 6. As far as inhibition of chemiluminescence is concerned, the results in Figures 4 and 6 indicate or at least suggest a correlation between the gallic acid content of the different arishtas and their respective CI_{50} values.

Preparations with a low gallic acid content (ADC), also showed minor inhibition of chemiluminescence (highest CI_{50} value).

The observed immunomodulation might explain the claimed therapeutic value of Nimba Arishta since both the complement system and PMNs are involved in rashes, that are a consequence of type III hypersensitivity (Roitt et al. 1986). Our current research is focused on the impact of preparation (fermentation) processes on the immunomodulating properties of Nimba Arishta.

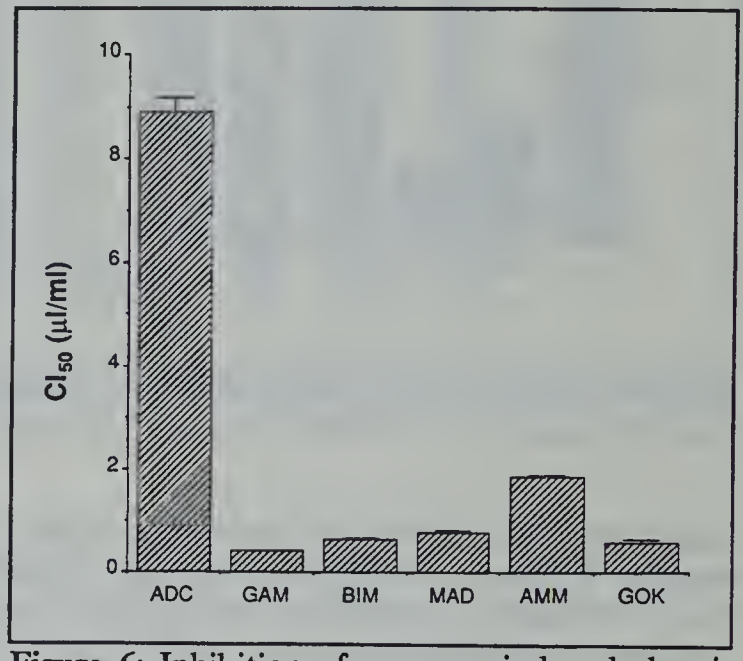


Figure 6: Inhibition of zymosan induced chemiluminescence of human polymorphonuclear leukocytes by some Nimba Arishtas on sale in Sri Lanka.

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SUMMARY

A field study on the preparation process of Nimba Arishta was conducted in Sri Lanka. Arishtas are Ayurvedic drugs obtained by anaerobic fermentation. For six commercially available Nimba Arishtas ethanol, gallic acid and sugar contents were determined, as well as their immuno-modulative activities. It was found that the ethanol content varied between 6 and 10% (w/v); the gallic acid content ranged from 0.4 to 9.3 mg/ml. Although all manufacturers use saccharose for the preparations, predominantly glucose and fructose were found to be present. In vitro all arishtas inhibited human complement activity (both classical and alternative pathways) and zymosan induced chemiluminescence of human polymorpho-nuclear leukocytes.

La fascination jaina pour l'alchimie*

NALINI BALBIR

L'examen de quelques scènes d'alchimie, amorcé dans la première livraison de ce journal, visait à montrer l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à prendre en compte la littérature narrative jaina en prakrit et sanskrit pour la connaissance du *rasaśāstra*:[1] de sa technique, de sa terminologie, de sa finalité.

Les difficultés inhérentes à l'étude de la littérature narrative jaina font qu'il est presque impossible d'être exhaustif d'emblée. Les livres ne sont pas de consultation aisée, sont généralement dépourvus d'index, parfois d'introduction. La trouvaille est donc en partie le fait du hasard. Elle se produit au gré de lectures menées à loisir.[2]

Celles que j'ai pu faire depuis un an viennent enrichir le dossier précédent, tout en permettant de préciser ou de développer certains points qui n'étaient alors qu'abordés.

Le présent article examine successivement le rôle des thèmes alchimiques dans la littérature narrative jaina, et de possibles vestiges du *Joṇīpāhuḍa*, texte qui pourrait avoir été la source de l'enseignement alchimique.

La quête de l'or alchimique et ses buts[3]

1. En Inde, comme en Chine, l'alchimie passe généralement pour une technique magico-spirituelle dont le résultat doit être l'immortalité, ou, du moins, la longévité.[4] Cela est vrai des milieux yoguiques et tantriques à l'origine des *rasaśāstra*; cela l'est beaucoup moins des protagonistes que nous voyons à l'œuvre dans les narrations jaina du 6ème au 14ème siècle: selon toute apparence, leurs motivations sont essentiellement matérielles. Voici quelques exemples indiscutables.

Jeune fils de marchand devenu orphelin, Guṇaṃdhara est contraint de chercher fortune dans une contrée étrangère.[5] Ses errances le conduisent auprès d'un chef de bande (*pallīvai*: sk.*pallīpati*) qui, au moment de lui donner congé, lui remet une calebasse

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* Référence à la page et à la ligne des textes, ou, le cas échéant au numéro de la strophe (précédé de v. = vers).

[1] *JEĀS*, 1, 1990, 149-164.

[2] Un bref séjour à Berlin (juin 1991) m'a été très utile à cet égard.

[3] Compléments à *JEĀS*, 1, § 15.

[4] Aux ouvrages de M. Eliade et J. Needham mentionnées dans *JEĀS*, 1, on ajoutera, de M. ELIADE, *L'alchimie asiatique* (Alchimie chinoise et indienne), essai de 1935. Traduit du roumain par Alain Paruit. Paris 1990. Sur la distinction entre "alchimie de laboratoire" et "alchimie intérieure" (*nei-tan*) dans la civilisation chinoise, voir, récemment *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie*, 5, 1989-1990, 141ss. et 264ss.

[5] *Puhaicandariya* de Śāntisūri, composé en 1105 (saṃvat 1131). Éd. Paṃnyāsa Muni Shri Ramnikvijayji. Ahmedabad, Varanasi 1972 (Prakrit Text Society Series 16), 181ss.

pleine d'un mercure[6] capable de transmuer cent mille fois son propre poids de métal vil (*samappiūṇa saya-sahassa-vehi-rasa-paḍahathaṃ*[7] *tumbayaṃ*, 183.19):

'Tu as un vif désir de richesses. Prends donc ce puissant mercure dont les pouvoirs sont avérés. Car

> En contact avec une particule de ce (mercure), étain, argent, cuivre et fer noir aussitôt deviennent or, sans qu'on ait à se donner le moindre mal. Si, pour une raison ou une autre, le hasard veut que tu ne rencontres pas de caravane, garde pourtant pleine confiance: avec ce (mercure), tu obtiendras richesse et prospérité, très facilement.'[8]

Les péripéties qui suivent n'ont pas de pertinence ici. Seule importe la conception, clairement affirmée, de l'aurifaction comme moyen de s'enrichir, à peu de frais. Moyen tantôt tenu pour peu recommandable, tantôt, au contraire, valorisé. En effet, la technique alchimique inquiète les uns, attire les autres. Les textes qui vont être passés en revue confirment que l'ambivalence est irréductible.

2. L'alchimie est considérée comme un vice par l'auteur du *Līlāvatīsāra* (*JEĀS*, 1, §§ 10 et 15), ou par les auteurs des différentes versions du *Dhūrtākhyāna*. Haribhadra, auteur de la version prakrite (8ème s.) voit dans le *dhātuvāda* 'un démon qui tourne la tête' d'Elasāḍha, un jeune homme avide d'argent.[9] Parcourant le monde pour assouvir sa passion du gain, il découvre un trou plein de mercure (*rasabila*, 12.12*), s'empare du liquide puissant, capable de transmuter mille fois son propre poids de métal vil (*sahassavehī raso*, 12.11*), se procure, grâce à lui, tous les luxes possibles. Cette richesse, utilisée à bon escient pour le don aux pauvres (12.21*),[10] il est vrai, mais acquise trop vite, lui est ravie par des voleurs et lui vaut d'avoir la tête tranchée. Moins radicaux que Haribhadra, ses successeurs voient dans l'alchimie un vice (*vyasana*).[11] Par ailleurs, la recherche du *rasa* telle que la décrivent les textes littéraires comporte des risques: le scénario décrit dans le *JEĀS*, 1 (§ 9) est encore attesté, en prakrit, dans le *Rayaṇacūḍarāya-*

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[6] Sur ce qu'il convient d'entendre par *rasa* voir *JEĀS*, 1, § 8.

[7] Éd. *paḍahaccaṃ*. J'adopte l'orthographe *paḍahatthaṃ* (doublet plus fréquent: *paḍihattha*), suivant en cela le *PSM* s.v. (mot deśī).

[8] *Attha-lālaso tumaṃ, tā ginhāhi eyaṃ diṭṭha-paccayaṃ mahā-rasaṃ. avi ya:*
167. *tau-tāra-tamba-kālâyasāṇa chikkāṇam eya-leseṇa*
jāyai kancaṇa-bhāvo sahasa tti kilesa-viraheṇa.
168. *jai kaha vi divva-jogā na milai sattho tahā vi su-visattho*
eeṇa dhaṇa-samiddhiṃ suheṇa sampāuṇejjāsi. (183.19-22)

[9] *... ahayaṃ taruṇattaṇe daviṇa-buddhī | dhāuvvāya-pisāeṇa bhāmio ...*, 12.6*-7* dans *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Haribhadra Sūri (Haribhadra's original Prākrit text. Sanghatilaka's Sanskrit Version and an Old-Gujarati prose rendering etc.) with an elaborate, critical essay on the Dhūrtākhyāna by Dr. A.N. UPADHYE. Ed. by Śrī Jina Vijaya Muni. Bombay 1944 (Singhi Jain Series 19), chapter III.

[10] Sur le don et l'alchimie voir *JEĀS*, 1, § 15 et *infra*, § 5.

[11] *Naṭito dhātuvādâdyair vyasanair niragāṃ gṛhāt*, 38.17*;55.29 (guj.).

cariya de Nemicandra (fin du 11ème s.) ou le *Śāntināthacaritra* d'Ajitaprabhasūri (14ème s.).[12]

3. Inversement, la réussite d'une opération alchimique peut être pour un jeune homme le moyen de faire ses preuves, de manifester ou confirmer ses qualités et son aptitude à vivre indépendamment. C'est, en quelque sorte, une étape nécessaire dans son éducation et un rite de passage vers une vie d'adulte intégré dans la société. Une partie des péripéties qui formaient la trame narrative de la *Kuvalayamālā* et s'y trouvaient très détaillées (*JEĀS*, 1, §§ 5-6) s'avère ainsi constituer une sorte de prototype ou de modèle réemployé, plus succinctement, et avec moins de détails techniques, par les textes ultérieurs. Témoin de l'échec d'une transmutation tentée par des métallurgistes qui opèrent dans les montagnes, le héros s'y essaie à son tour — avec succès: c'est la victoire de la valeur personnelle et intime (quasi-surnaturelle), des qualités morales et spirituelles sur la technique brute, impuissante. La quête de l'or alchimique devient, en somme, un motif littéraire, aussi stéréotypé que n'importe quel autre thème, avec ses points fixes et ses variantes: le lecteur coutumier de la littérature narrative jaina se retrouve donc, une fois de plus, dans le paysage familier de la répétition.[13] Les œuvres en prakrit, dont le contenu et la terminologie vont être considérés ci-dessous (A-C), sont successivement le *Bhavabhāvanāprakaraṇa* de Hemacandra Maladhārin (12ème s.), le *Kumārapālapratibodha* de Somaprabhasūri (12ème s.) et la *Sirisirivālakahā* de Ratnaśekharasūri (14ème s.). L'épisode alchimique y est toujours une sorte d'intermède sans grande conséquence sur la suite des récits.

A. Prince au cœur noble mais léger, Sulocana se montre insouciant avec l'argent de son père, et dépense, en une sortie, cent mille *dināra*.[14] La colère paternelle le fait réfléchir ('Il n'est pas bien de profiter de la fortune de son père lorsqu'on n'est plus un enfant'). Il prend la décision de n'utiliser désormais que de l'or qu'il aura lui-même gagné, et il quitte la maison familiale. Les détails de la mise en scène rappellent la *Km.*: le prince part à minuit, prend soin de ne pas se faire remarquer et n'oublie pas son épée. Parvenu à un coin de forêt, il aperçoit un groupe de métallurgistes en train de faire chauffer du métal (*dhāuvvāiya-vindaṃ diṭṭhaṃ dhāuṃ dhamemāṇaṃ*, v.15). Il prononce une formule en forme de souhait de réussite qui semble faire office de mot de passe et lui vaut d'être admis dans le cercle des métallurgistes: *Vasuhārā ihaiṃ paḍau* (v.16). L'interprétation de cette expression, apparemment courante parmi les alchimistes (*infra* B), est problématique. Le verbe *paḍai* y est employé idiomatiquement au sens de 'tomber (bien)', c'est-à-dire 'échoir, arriver, réussir'.[15] *Vasuhārā* (Terre en tant que ré-

[12] P.17a-17b (éd. publiée à Ahmedabad en 1942); détails dans H.R. KAPADIA, 'References to fabulous objects by Jaina writers', *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda*, 8,2.Dec.1958, 172-173, qui mentionne encore le *sparśapāṣāṇa*, pierre capable de transformer le fer en or, ou le *siddharasa*, doué des mêmes vertus.

[13] K. BRUHN, 'Repetition in Jaina Narrative Literature', *Indologica Taurinensia*, 11, 1983, 27-75.

[14] *Bhavabhāvanā*: éd. publiée à Bombay en 1985, *dvitīyo vibhāgaḥ*, 4-5.

[15] Comparer, par exemple, *ūsaṃ ca paḍau* (E. LEUMANN, *Die Āvaśyaka Erzählungen*. Leipzig 1897, 23.23): 'Puisse la potasse faire effet' (formule employée dans le milieu des blanchisseurs), et le gujarati *paḍavuṃ* 'to chance or happen to be, to take place, appear': M.B. BELSARE, *An etymological Gujarati-English Dictionary*, New Delhi 1981 (2nd ed.).

ceptacle de trésors) est probablement à comprendre comme un nom propre: celui de la déesse de la richesse et de l'or, Vasudhārā, que les Jaina du Gujarat vénèrent encore, comme en témoigne, dans cette région, l'existence de plusieurs manuscrits de la Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī, texte d'origine bouddhique.[16] La formule signifie donc peu ou prou: 'Puisse la Terre nous échoir hic et nunc!'

Admis dans leur cercle, le prince apprend la technique de ses nouveaux compagnons. On note au passage le composé *dhāuvāya-bhāsā* (v.17): il confirme l'existence, déjà posée dans la *Km.* (*JEĀS*, 1, §.7C), d'un code propre aux spécialistes de cette discipline.

Spécialistes, les *dhātuvāda* de cette histoire le sont. Ils ne sont pas pour autant plus chanceux que les pauvres hères de la *Km.* A Sulocana qui s'inquiète de savoir s'ils obtiennent le succès (t.tech. *siddhi*), ils dépeignent avec une amère ironie leur vie de vain labeur:

'D'abord enfants, puis adolescents, ensuite jeunes et enfin vieillards, l'acquisition d'un terrain pour (extraire et) chauffer (le minerai), l'anéantissement des biens paternels, la peine, et pour finir ce tas de cendres comme de la pierre: voilà, illustre personnage, notre 'réussite', le vide - comme cette brousse!'[17]

Ces considérations n'arrêtent pas le prince, qui, avec un doux sourire (*īsiṃ hasiūṇa*, v.22) donne les instructions:

'Jetez avec les plantes le plomb, l'étain et le cuivre. Haussez-les jusque dans le creuset et chauffez. Moi je serai ici et observerai.'[18]

Les métaux vils mentionnés ici sont usuels. On notera seulement *sumba*, nouveau doublet prakrit, plus graphique que phonétique, de pk. *suvva* (<sk. *śulva*) = *subba* = *sumba*. Comme dans la *Km.* (*JEĀS*, 1, § 7B, fin), l'opération ne fait intervenir qu'une alchimie végétale rudimentaire, où le mercure n'a pas sa place. L'important n'est pas dans les matériaux: s'il naît de l'or pur (*nimmala-kaṇaya*, v.24), c'est grâce aux mérites du prince (*punn'udaeṇa*, v.23). Au reste, sa grandeur d'âme est presque sans bornes: c'est avec réticence, après s'être fait beaucoup prier, qu'il accepte sa part du métal précieux, et peut mener une vie agréable.[19]

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[16] P.S. JAINI, 'Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī: A Buddhist work in use among the Jainas of Gujarat', *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1968, 30-45.

[17] *bālattāo* (lire *-o* bref) *juvattaṃ, tārunnāo ya ko vi vuḍḍhattaṃ*
patto ya dhamaṇa-khetto piu-daviṇa-khao kileso ya.
sela-samāṇo ya imo chār'ukkuruḍo tahā vi puṇa esā
siddhī ettha mahāyasa, sunnaṃ puṇa jaha arannam iṇaṃ. (v.20-21)

[18] *Saha osahīhi[ṃ] nāgaṃ vangaṃ sumbaṃ ca khiviūṇa*
āroveu musāe dhameha maha c'eva iha niyantassa. (v.22cd-23ab)
J'analyse *āroveu* comme équivalant à *āroveuṃ* (absol.) avec syllabe nasale finale brève. Attesté dans les lexiques, *musā* est moins usuel que *mūsā*.

[19] *Aha pāḍiūṇa kaṇayaṃ kuṇai vilāse tahiṃ ciya purammi* (v.28ab). Remarquer ici encore l'emploi du verbe *paḍai*, cette fois au causatif-transitif. Les sens qu'il prend en prakrit sont comparables à ceux du gujrati *pāḍavuṃ*, qui entre volontiers dans la formation de locutions: cf. BELSARE, *s.v.* Autre exemple en contexte alchimique: *pāḍiyaṃ bahuyaṃ suvannayaṃ, parituṭṭho 'haṃ*: Nemicandra, *Rayaṇacūḍarāyacariya*, p.17b. En sanskrit 'jaina', dans les mêmes contextes, on rencontre *suvarṇa-patāna* ou °*kāñcana*: cf. *Daśa-vaikālika-ṭīkā* (citée *infra*, n.42).

B. Dans le *Kumārapālapratibodha*, un prince trop séduisant est, à la demande de la population inquiète pour ses filles, reclus par son père, jusqu'au jour où il décide de s'échapper. En plus condensée, la suite des péripéties rappelle les aventures de Sulocana; de même le décor et le vocabulaire. On note, là encore, la formule *paḍau Vasuhārā*, qui vaut au jeune homme d'être bien accueilli (*sāgayaṃ*!). Son charisme (*pabhāva*) assure la réussite immédiate de l'expérience. Sa magnanimité trahit son origine royale; les malheureux métallurgistes prennent conscience de l'inanité de leurs efforts passés.[20]

C. Quant à Śrīpāla, il lui tient à cœur de prouver ce dont il est capable pour une autre raison: il se désole de n'avoir été idientifié que par relation à son beau-père — ce qui passe pour peu glorieux — et de n'être pas connu pour ses propres qualités.[21] Le voyage permet alors l'apprentissage de la nouveauté. La première rencontre est celle d'un jeune homme. Il est, en pleine forêt, occupé à la méditation d'un *mantra* qui, dit-il, ne saurait être efficace sans l'assistance d'un acolyte (*uttara-sāhaga*, v.366). Śrīpāla sort vainqueur de cette épreuve et se voit remettre deux plantes:

'La première permet de traverser l'eau, la seconde arrête les traits ennemis. Ces plantes, il convient que tu les portes, enchâssées dans les trois métaux.'[22]

La suite montrera qu'il s'agit probablement d'amulettes porte-bonheur, que le prince s'attachera au bras (v.377). En attendant, ses pouvoirs ont convaincu son compagnon qui l'entraîne vers une chaîne de montagnes auprès de métallurgistes (*dhāuvāiya-purisa*, v.371):

'Sire, nous nous efforçons de réaliser (l'or) conformément à la procédure (*kappapamāṇeṇa*, v.372) que tu nous as indiquée, et pourtant, pour quelque raison, nous n'arrivons pas au *rasa* (*amhāṇa na hoi rasa-siddhī*).'

Le *rasa* n'est habituellement que l'auxiliaire de la transmutation des métaux, non son but. Il est donc vraisemblable que le composé *rasa-siddhī* est à comprendre comme l'abréviation de *kallāṇa-rasa-siddhī*, présent au vers suivant, soit: 'nous n'arrivons pas à obtenir le *rasa*, qui permet de produire l'or.' Sk. *kalyāṇa* est une désignation métaphorique du métal suprême, attestée notamment dans les lexiques spécialisés.[23]

Sans grande nouveauté, la suite n'appelle pas de commentaire.

4. Il est probable que l'alchimie n'aurait pas connu pareille vogue dans les milieux jaina si elle n'avait pas eu la caution d'une certaine orthodoxie monastique. Les textes canoniques la réprouvaient, au même titre que d'autres pratiques. Certains écrivains continuent à suivre cette tendance (§ 2). D'autres font une place à la pratique alchimique en la

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[20] Texte dans *JEĀS*, 1, note 12.

[21] *Nâhaṃ niaya-guṇehiṃ,...*
iha vikkhāo jāo, ahayaṃ susurassa nāmeṇaṃ.
taṃ puṇa aham'ahamatta(ssa) kāraṇaṃ vajjiaṃ supurisehiṃ.
Sirisirivālakahā (publiée à Ahmedabad, sans date: Yaśenduprakāśan 11) v.344-345ab.

[22] *Jala-tāriṇī a egā para-sattha-nivāriṇī tahā bīyā*
eyāo (lire *-o* bref) *osahīo ti-dhāu-maḍhiyāo* (lire *-o* bref) *dhārijjā.* (v.370)
Sur le sens de *maḍhiya*, voir *PSM* s.v. (avec cette référence) et *CDIAL* n° 9729. D'après la chāyā moderne de l'édition, les trois métaux seraient l'or, l'argent et le cuivre.

[23] Ex. *Rājanighaṇṭu* XIII.8: cf. R. GARBE, *Die indischen Mineralien, ihre Namen und die ihnen zugeschriebenen Kräfte*, Leipzig 1882.

déguisant en motif littéraire (§ 3). D'autres enfin proclament haut et fort qu'elle est d'utilité publique.

C'est le cas de Jineśvarasūri, maître śvetāmbara du 11ème siècle, dont le *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* (saṃ. 1108 = 1051) prouve qu'il était fortement impliqué dans les débats de son temps.[24] En l'occurrence, il est opportun de considérer brièvement son appartenance sectaire et sa lignée, qu'il décrit dans la *praśasti* finale (p.181). Si elles étaient confirmées par des analyses plus poussées, les observations qu'elle permet pourraient indiquer que le souci de sauvegarder le savoir alchimique était plus vif dans certaines écoles que dans d'autres. Pour l'heure, la prudence s'impose.

1) Jineśvara appartient au Candrakula, école du Kharataragaccha. Les pontifes de cette importante secte śvetāmbara, fondée au 11ème siècle par Vardhamānasūri, prédécesseur direct de Jineśvara, n'ont jamais manifesté leur aversion pour l'alchimie et les autres techniques occultes.

2) Après Mahāvīra, le maître dont Jineśvara se réclame en droite ligne est Vaira (= Vajrasvāmin), fondateur de la branche à laquelle il appartient (*Vaira-mahāmuṇi-ṇiggayasāhā*, 181.11*). Or, la biographie légendaire de ce personnage est clairement imprégnée de surnaturel: dans le corpus āvaśyakéen, par exemple, il incarne l'intelligence liée aux pouvoirs magiques (pk. *joga-siddhi*).[25] Par ailleurs, Vaira est aussi supposé être le coauteur (mythique), avec le non moins fameux Pālitta (= Pādalipta, maître de Nāgārjuna l'alchimiste) d'une composition relative au Mont Raivataka (= Girnar), *tīrtha* où le *dhātuvāda* et les pratiques occultes jouent un rôle non négligeable.[26] Si l'on en croit la tradition, ce texte serait lui-même extrait d'un traité au titre significatif, le *Vijjāpāhuḍa* ('Traité des formules').[27]

La recherche de l'or par le *rasa* (*rasa-siddhī*) y est qualifiée de bénéfique pour le progrès de la Communauté (*sangha-samuddharaṇa-kajjammi*, 6.28*).[28]

3) Jineśvara se réclame en outre d'un certain Ujjoyaṇa (= Uddyotanasūri). Il n'y a guère de doute: le maître visé ne peut être que l'auteur de la *Kuvalayamālā*, lui aussi membre du Candrakula (*Km.* 283.4*), dont on a vu à l'œuvre les connaissances alchimiques (*JEĀS*, 1). Est-ce donc un pur hasard si, à l'instar de son prédécesseur, Jineśvara tente une défense et illustration de l'alchimie, qu'il place en vedette au terme de son *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* (p.172-173)?

5. Sundaridatta, héros de l'épisode concerné, est le fils d'un caravanier. Son enfance est évoquée de manière traditionnelle: célébrations natales, attribution d'un nom au douzi-

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[24] Il est surtout connu comme pourfendeur des moines *caityavāsin*, ceux qui préfèrent élire domicile dans les temples jaina plutôt que de se livrer à une vie érémitique: cf. P. DUNDAS, 'The tenth wonder: domestication and reform in medieval śvetāmbara Jainism', *Indologica Taurinensia*, 14, 1987-88, 181-194; introduction hindie du *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* (Bombay 1949: Singhi Jain Series 11), 2ss.

[25] Ad *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* v.934 (Haribhadra p.412b-413a). *Prakrit Proper Names* (Ahmedabad 1970) s.v. Vaira.

[26] *Vividhatīrthakalpa* n° 2 (Bombay 1934: Singhi Jain Series 10). — Sur Pādalipta et Nāgārjuna voir *JEĀS*, 1, §§ 12-14.

[27] *Infra*, § 6 sur ce traité et d'autres apparentés.

[28] Cette formule n'est pas exceptionnelle: *infra*, §§ 5 et 6.

ème jour. Le garçonnet est ensuite soigné par cinq nourrices, et, à l'âge de huit ans, confié à un maître chargé de lui enseigner les arts et métiers, maître jaina, comme le suggère le terme de *kalā-sūri* (172.26). Là où, pour évoquer cette phase, les textes se contentent habituellement d'une banale formule, Jineśvara, par le biais de la mise en scène narrative, présente une sorte de manifeste destiné à souligner la supériorité de l'alchimie sur les autres *kalā*. Il est amorcé par le père de Sundaridatta, qui tient à vérifier que son fils n'a pas perdu son temps en apprentissages superflus et l'interroge sur le bilan de sa formation:

gandhavva-naṭṭa-vīṇā-pattacchejjāi[29] *taru-tigicchā ya*
āsa-kari-sikkha-sāmuddajaṃ ca taha leppa-cittāiṃ.
eyaṃ viṇoya-mettaṃ, dhaṇu-cchuriya[30]*-khagga-kunta-m-āi vi.*
jāo para-uvajīvaṇa-mettāo kalāo[31] *kiṃ tāhiṃ?*
cāo bhogo dhammo sijjhai attheṇa so jahā hoi
taṃ kiṃ pi kalaṃ sāhasu; na amha annāhi[ṃ] kajjaṃ tu. (172.28*-30*)

'Chanter (1), danser (2),(jouer de) la *vīnā* (3), découper (artistement) des feuilles (4), soigner les arbres (5), apprendre (la science) des éléphants et des chevaux (6), (pratiquer) la chiromancie (7; cf. sk. *sāmudrika*), le moulage et la peinture (8-9): tout cela n'est que passe-temps, — et il en va de même (du maniement) de l'arc, du couteau, de l'épée et de la lance (10). Ces techniques n'autorisant qu'une vie dépendante d'autrui, à quoi servent-elles donc? Puisque la générosité, la jouissance et le dharma ne peuvent réussir qu'avec de l'argent, expose une technique qui permette d'en obtenir. Les autres ne nous intéressent pas.'

On aura reconnu certains termes qui, tels quels ou non, figurent dans les listes jaina traditionnelles des soixante-douze *kalā*[32]: n° 1-3; 4 (JAIN, p.228 n.3); 8-9; assez vague, le composé *āsa-kari-sikkha* (n° 6) rappelle les vocables du *Samvāyānga* (*āsa-sikkhaṃ* et *hatthi-sikkhaṃ*: n° 64-65), qui, en outre, compte comme techniques indépendantes la connaissance des marques équines et éléphantines (*haya-lakkhaṇaṃ* et *gaya-lakkhaṇaṃ*: n° 30-31), seule attestée dans les autres listes. Le soin des arbres a sa place dans la liste du *Kāmasūtra*,[33] et il faut probablement attribuer aux besoins de la cause la dévalorisation (passagère) de la science de la chiromancie, ou, plus largement, des signes pronostiques (n° 7), habituellement non dédaignée par les jaina, comme le montre, par exemple, un exposé très détaillé d'Uddyotanasūri dans la *Kuvalayamālā* (129-131). Quant aux arts

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[29] Imprimant °*pattacchejjāi-taru*°, l'éditeur semble avoir compris l'équivalent du sk. °*chedyâdi*, avec *ādi* au milieu du composé. Bien que cela ne soit pas impossible en prakrit (et en sanskrit jaina), il me semble préférable de voir dans l'ensemble deux composés: 1) un dvandva au nomin. plur. neutre (*-āi* pour *-āiṃ*: la brève est nécessaire pour former le sixième *gaṇa* procéleusmatique); 2) après la césure, le composé *taru*°.

[30] Le texte imprimé porte *cchuriyā* qui détruit la régularité métrique.

[31] Les voyelles finales de *mettāo* et *kalāo* sont à lire brèves.

[32] Tableau synoptique fondé sur les différents textes canoniques par Muni Jambūvijaya ad *Samavāyanga-sutta* 72, p.758ss. (Bombay 1985: Jaina-Āgama-Series 3). Analyse dans J.C. JAIN, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canon and Commentaries*, Delhi [2]1984, 227-229. Pour les listes non jaina, bonne synthèse dans RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, *Ancient Indian Education*, Delhi [4]1969, 353ss.

[33] Voir, par exemple, *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume*, Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda kritisch ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert von R.P. DAS, Stuttgart 1988, 2.

de combat (n° 10), ils font bien partie de la formation de base classique. Pour un marchand comme Sundaridatta, ils ne sauraient toutefois présenter la même valeur que pour un kṣatriya. Ils permettent d'entrer au service d'un patron (cf. *para-uvajīvaṇa*), non de s'établir à son compte, comme doit le faire un *śreṣṭhin* digne de ce nom. La technique productive et rentable dont le père réclame l'exposé sera précisément l'alchimique: elle donne l'indépendance financière et le respect du dharma du groupe social et vaudra à Sundaridatta les félicitations paternelles (*suṭṭhu sikkhiyaṃ, suṭṭhu*! 173.17), alors que, dans le *Līlāvatīsāra* (*JEĀS*, 1, §§ 10 et 15), elle avait déterminé une rupture entre père et fils. A la fin du récit, Sundaridatta deviendra moine, puis maître (*sūri*, 179.5). Même si le texte ne fait pas état de sa pratique de l'alchimie, il suggère par ce qui précède qu'il connaissait cette technique. Indirectement, Jineśvarasūri admet donc qu'elle n'est pas étrangère aux moines. Pourquoi, d'ailleurs, le serait-elle? Elle bénéficie d'une antique caution, que le jeune homme ne manque pas de rappeler:

Jiṇa-bhāsiya-puvva-gae Joṇīpāhuḍa-sue samuddiṭṭhaṃ
eyaṃ pi sangha-kajje kāyavvaṃ dhīra-purisehiṃ. (172.32*)

'Cette (science) a été expliquée dans le Livre (appelé) *Joṇīpāhuḍa* qui appartient aux Textes Anciens énoncés par le Jina.[34] Elle doit être mise en pratique pour le bénéfice de la Communauté par les gens avisés.'

Le(s) *Joṇīpāhuḍa*

6. Comme beaucoup de textes ésotériques, le *Joṇīpāhuḍa* / sk. *Yoniprābhṛta* (= *Jp.* / *Yp.*) a connu une transmission difficile, en sorte qu'il convient de distinguer entre un *Jp.* traditionnel, dont nous n'avons qu'une connaissance indirecte et fragmentaire (§§ 6-8), et un autre *Jp.*, auquel nous avons accès par un seul manuscrit en assez mauvais état (§ 9).

La forme du titre n'a rien d'inhabituel: le second terme du composé est un terme générique qui permet de ranger le *Jp.* dans une catégorie. Pk. *pāhuḍa* (sk. *prābhṛta*) désigne en effet un bref traité en vers, ou, selon certains commentateurs, une sous-section dans un Pūrva.[35] Plusieurs noms de *pāhuḍa* censés avoir fait partie des Textes Anciens sont connus, mais leur texte original n'existe pas. Certains semblent avoir eu trait aux sciences magiques ou occultes (présages, formules, astrologie). Vaille que vaille, la tradition littéraire en garde toutefois un souvenir plus ou moins précis. La situation particulière du *Jp.* est applicable à ses congénères.

Il n'est nulle part mentionné dans le Canon. On le voit évoqué, çà et là, par les commentaires canoniques (*cūrṇi* et *ṭīkā*: 6ème-8ème s.), puis par Uddyotanasūri (8ème s.) et Jineśvarasūri (11ème s.), et finalement par les biographes-hagiographes du magicien légendaire qu'est Pādalipta (*prabandha*: 13ème-14ème s.). Toutes les sources s'accordent sur son contenu global: le *Jp.* est un 'Traité de la génération' (*yoni*). Les deux définitions

[34] Cf. *Km.* 197.6: *JEĀS*, 1, 153.

[35] H.R. KAPADIA, *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, Surat 1941, 91ss. Je regrette de n'avoir pu trouver les articles parus dans *Anekānta* (périodique en hindi) vol.II, 485s., 611s. et 666s. (Référence mentionnée notamment dans M.B. JHAVERY, *Comparative and Critical Study of Mantrasastra* (With Special Treatment of Jain Mantravada), Ahmedabad 1944, 156 note.

les plus utiles sont celles que donnent les commentaires du *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* de Jinabhadra[36] (1) et Uddyotanasūri (2):

(1) *Yoniprābhṛte câsamānajātīyânekadravya-samparka-yonayaḥ prāṇino maṇayo hemâdīni côpalabhyante.*[37]
'Dans le *Yp.* il est question d'êtres vivants, de pierres précieuses, d'or, etc., dont l'origine est due au contact de diverses substances qui ne sont pas de même nature.'

(2) Dans la *Kuvalayamālā*, le contexte où apparaît la définition du *Jp.* instruit sur le statut de ce livre. Le lecteur voit, à travers le regard du héros, un groupe de moines jaina en train d'étudier (34.7). Ce tableau est l'occasion, pour Uddyotanasūri, d'énumérer un certain nombre des textes qu'ils lisent: la place de l'allusion au *Jp.*, qui suit la liste exhaustive des douze Anga (34.11*-17*) et de quelques-uns des Upānga (34.18*), montre l'importance que cette œuvre revêt sans doute aux yeux de l'auteur. La syntaxe de la strophe concernée (34.20*, citée *JEĀS*, 1, n.13) est rude, mais le vocabulaire rappelle celui de Jinabhadra. Du rapprochement des deux définitions, il ressort que le *Jp.* a affaire avec la production de diverses créatures (*nāṇā-jī'uppattī*), et, d'autre part, d'or, de pierres précieuses, de joyaux, par contact (*saṃjoya*: cf. *samparka*, *supra*) avec les métaux (vils?).

Le *Jp.* a donc deux applications distinctes dans le domaine de ce que Leumann appelait, fort justement, 'Allogenese'.[38]

1) C'est l'ouvrage de référence utilisé par ceux qui souhaitent générer des êtres vivants à partir de substances inertes. Une anecdote transmise par les commentaires illustre, allusivement, cette orientation. On y voit un maître qui réussit à créer des chevaux, un autre qui réussit à créer des buffles.[39] Le détail de la manipulation n'est malheureusement pas donné.[40]

2) Comme le passage du métal vil à l'or — la transmutation — implique aussi un changement de nature, souligné par les définitions, on ne s'étonne pas de voir que le *Jp.* est aussi le livre des alchimistes. Chronologiquement, la première référence claire est celle de la *Daśavaikālika-cūṛṇi* (6ème s. environ), suivie de la *ṭīkā* de Haribhadra (8ème s. environ). Toutes deux commentent la *niryukti* qui, discutant le terme *uvāa* (sk. *upāya*), indiquent clairement que la transmutation des métaux est le premier des 'moyens' prati-

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[36] E. LEUMANN est probablement l'un des premiers savants à avoir signalé l'existence du *Joṇīpāhuḍa* à l'occasion de l'analyse de la strophe concernée: *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur.* Hamburg 1934, 38b lignes 43ss.

[37] La strophe prend place dans une plus ample discussion sur la question de savoir s'il y a identité d'un individu donné d'une existence à l'autre (5ème *gaṇadharavāda*): *Ācārya Jinabhadra's Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* with auto-commentary. Part II, Ahmedabad 1968 (L.D. Series 14), 394 ad v.2230. Définition comparable dans le commentaire de Hemacandra Maladhārin (ad v.1775), plus succincte dans celui de Koṭyācārya (ad v.2254).

[38] *Übersicht, ibidem.*

[39] *Niśītha-cūṛṇi*, vol.2, 281; *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya-ṭīkā*, vol.3, 753 (et *Vyavahārabhāṣya-ṭīkā*: *Prakrit Proper Names* s.v. *Joṇīpāhuḍa*).

[40] Autre exemple: *Prabhāvakacarita* (Bombay 1940: Singhi Jain Series 13), 32.8*ss.

ques.[41] Pour faire de l'or, au bénéfice de la Communauté, les *dhātuvādika* recourent au *Jp.*[42]

7. Cette référence semble bien établie puisque le *Jp.* est également la source authentique de l'enseignement alchimique pour Uddyotanasūri (*JEĀS*, 1, § 6) et pour Jineśvarasūri (*supra*, § 5). Dans ces conditions, on peut se demander quelle est l'origine de la dizaine de strophes didactiques qui figurent dans chacune de leurs œuvres respectives:[43] sont-elles des créations originales, ou des citations? Les styles sont en tout cas comparables. La formulation elliptique et abrupte, la prédominance du style nominal ou la banalité des verbes employés ne sont pas sans rappeler les premières exégèses jaina (les *niryukti*). Comme elles, ces strophes alchimiques donnent l'impression d'être la notation à usage mnémotechnique d'un enseignement où l'oralité est première, en temps mais surtout en importance. Etant donné le contenu, l'oralité, la concision et l'obscurité peuvent avoir ici été volontaires: la tradition ne devait être accessible qu'aux initiés. Inversement, la citer, même partiellement, était une manière d'éviter qu'elle ne s'éteigne pour toujours. C'est ce qu'ont peut-être voulu faire Uddyotanasūri et Jineśvarasūri.

8.A. Par la bouche de Sundaridatta, Jineśvarasūri présente en huit *āryā* quelques opérations caractéristiques de l'alchimie mercurielle qu'il commence par glorifier:

(1) *dhāu-vvāo ego; bīo puṇa hoi tāya rasa-vāo.*
niyaya-phalo kira paḍhamo; rasa-vāo keṇa uvamejjā?
'Les manipulations métalliques sont une chose; mais, père, le savoir mercuriel en est une autre. Le résultat des premières est bien établi[44]. Mais à quoi peut-on comparer le savoir mercuriel?'

Le jeune homme oppose ici très clairement *dhātuvāda* et *rasavāda*, ce qui n'est pas si banal: dans le *rasaśāstra* comme dans les narrations jaina, *dh.* est bien souvent le seul terme qui désigne les opérations alchimiques. Néanmoins l'opposition n'est pas unique.[45] Elle évoque celle que faisait une strophe de la *Km.* entre les *dhātuvādin*, extracteurs et traiteurs de minerai, et les *narendra*, maîtres alchimistes qui s'occupent de la

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[41] *em eva cau-vigappo hoi uvāo vi, tattha 1. davvammi*
dhāu-vvāo paḍhamo...:
E. LEUMANN, 'Daśavaikālika-sūtra und -niryukti', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 46, 1892, v.61 (p.646).

[42] *jahā dhāuvāiyā uvāeṇa suvaṇṇâdi karenti tahā sanghâdi-kajje Joṇipāhuḍâdīhiṃ...: Daśavaikālika-cūṛṇi* 22.27-28 (Ahmedabad 1973: Prakrit Text Series 17); *anye tu Yoniprābhṛta-prayogataḥ kāñcana-pātanôtkarṣa-lakṣaṇam eva sanghāta-prayojanâdau dravyôpāyaṃ vyācakṣate*: Haribhadra, *Daśavaikālika-ṭīkā* ad niryukti v.61. On voit que les deux textes ne sont pas identiques. La transmission est incertaine.

[43] *JEĀS*, 1, §§ 7A-C pour la *Km.*

[44] Pk. *niyaya* = sk. *niyata* (ou peut-être *nijaka*): "les manipulations métalliques ont leur résultat propre".

[45] Les milieux brahmaniques distinguent occasionnellement entre *dhātuvāda*, alchimie proprement dite, travail sur les métaux et *rasāyana*, science des élixirs de vie. Voir, par exemple, le *Caṇḍakauśika* de *Kṣemīśvara*, pièce de la même époque que le *Kathākośaprakaraṇa*, acte IV (éd. Jivanandavidyasagara, Calcutta 1884) et la note de la traduction italienne de F. CIMINO, Città di Castello 1923, 206.

fixation du mercure (*rasaṃ bandhai*):[46] voilà donc une raison supplémentaire de penser qu'elle provient du *Jp.*, source commune d'Uddyotanasūri et de Jineśvarasūri. Le terme de *rasa* n'est pas ici ambigu. Il est repris dans la suite du texte par *sūya(ya)* (sk. *sūta(ka)* et *pāraya* (sk. *pārada*) qui en sont apparemment synonymes.

Les sept *āryā* suivantes concernent le traitement du mercure et indiquent la procédure à suivre pour lui donner son pouvoir de transmutation maximal. La terminologie technique concorde en partie avec celle du *rasaśāstra*. L'exposé n'est pas parfaitement systématique.

B. Ainsi, la strophe 2 énumère des éléments hétérogènes. Elle contient d'une part des données numériques relatives à la quantité de métal susceptible d'être transmutée par le mercure, et, d'autre part, le nom technique d'une méthode de transmutation.

(2) *saya-vehī hoi raso, sahassa-vehī ya lakkha-vehī ya*
koḍiya-koḍākoḍī-vehī taha dhūma-vehī ya.
'Le mercure transmute cent fois, mille fois, cent mille fois, dix millions de fois, ou des myriades de fois (son propre poids de métal vil), et il transmute par vapeur.'[47]

C. Chronologiquement, la première étape est celle de la fixation du mercure dont il faut réduire l'instabilité. Les *rasaśāstra*, qui consacrent toujours un développement à ce sujet (*rasa-bandha*) décrivent tantôt quatre types, comme le *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* (*cauhā rasassa bandho*, v.3), tantôt vingt-cinq ou vingt-six.[48] Ils sont fonction de la forme et de la consistance de la matière obtenue. La liste réduite figure, par exemple, dans le *Rasaprakāśasudhākara* (12ème-13ème s.)[49] et concorde partiellement avec la liste jaina:
(i) *bhūi-bandha* (sk. *bhūti*) correspond à *bhasma-bandha*, 'fixation-cendre'. Réduit en cendres, le mercure a l'apparence de la poussière.
(ii) *kakka-bandha* (sk. *kalka*), 'fixation-électuaire' pourrait correspondre à *pāṭa-bandha*. Le mercure devient comparable à une pâte.
(iii) *khoṭṭa-bandha*, 'fixation-bille' correspond presque certainement à *khoṭa-bandha*. Le mercure prend la forme et la consistance d'une boulette solide.[50]
(iv) *dāvaṇa-bandha* (sk. *drāvaṇa*) semble le type le plus important, puisque l'auteur se propose de l'exposer spécialement (*dāvaṇa-bandhaṃ bhaṇīhāmi*, v.3d). C'est malheureusement le moins clair. Il ne semble pas correspondre à *jalaukā* de la liste sanskrite, lui-même curieux. Doit-il évoquer le *druti-bandha* (fixation au moyen de solvants divers) mentionné dans d'autres listes?

Pour favoriser la fixation, l'emploi de diverses substances auxiliaires est recommandé. Les plus usuelles et les plus efficaces sont les herbes et les plantes (dites *rasabandhin* ou

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[46] *JEĀS*, 1, § 7A.

[47] *JEĀS*, 1, § 8, note 31 et § 11 pour les termes techniques. Sur le *dhūmavedha*, voir en outre *Rasaratnasamuccaya* 8.83, traduit dans P.C. RAY, *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India*, Calcutta 1956, 188; *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 4.108.

[48] Ex. *Rasaratnasamuccaya* 11.54ss.; JOSHI, 100-105.

[49] Texte sanskrit et commentaire succinct dans SATYAPRAKASH, 448; JOSHI, 98.

[50] ROY, 135 s.v. propose la définition suivante: 'A type of "fixation" in which mercury becomes solidified, and loses its weight on being roasted repeatedly over fire urged by the act of blowing'; SATYAPRAKASH, 496.

rasabandhakara) dont les textes reconnaissent plusieurs catégories. Le *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* donne, dans un long dvandva en prose, un échantillon de 'grandes plantes' (pk. *mahosahī*: sk. *mahauṣadhi*) ayant cette fonction adjuvante (*eyāhiṃ pārayassa bahuviho bandho samuddiṭṭho*, 173.5-6). L'identification botanique n'est pas toujours possible, mais plusieurs se retrouvent dotées des mêmes pouvoirs et utilisées pareillement dans les *rasaśāstra*. En voici la liste, dans l'ordre alphabétique:

— *uvvaṭṭā*: peut-être mauvaise lecture pour *uccaṭ(ṭ)ā*, *Blepharis edulis* L.: *Rasārṇava* 5.10; *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 6.12.
— *(k)khippā*: résiste à toute analyse.
— *khīrasāriṇī* (?): les plantes à suc laiteux (sk. *kṣīra*) sont réputées pour aider à la fixation du mercure (ex. *kṣīrakukkuṭī*: *Rasārṇava* 5.18 et *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi*; °*kancukī*, °*nālikā*, °*mārjārī*: *ibidem*).
— *gosingī*: sk. *gośṛngī* ou *-a*: (?): *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 6.23.
— *thalapominī*: sk. *sthalapadminī*, *Hibiscus mutabilis* L. ou *Ionidium suffroticosum* Ging.:[51] *Rasārṇava* 5.19; *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 6.10.
— *daḍḍharuhā*: sk. *dagdharuhā* ou *dagdhārohā* (?): *Rasārṇava* 5.17 et 12.149; ROY v.177-181.
— *rudantī*: sk. *rudantī*, *Cressa cretica* L.: *Rasārṇava* 5.17; ROY v.592; *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 6.17 et 8.20.
— *somā*: plusieurs plantes dont les noms commencent par *soma*° sont mentionnées dans les traités spécialisés, par ex. la *somalatā*: *Rasārṇava* 5.17; la *somavallī* et la *somakalā*: *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 6.6ss.

D. Il n'est pas certain que le développement des strophes 4ss. soit à relier directement à ce qui précède. Cette seconde série commence par un *ahavā* (sk. *athavā*) qui pourrait indiquer une bifurcation en direction d'un nouveau thème: le jeune Sundaridatta propose à son père des exemples de ce qu'il a appris. Il est maintenant question de ce que le *rasaśāstra* appelle les *saṃskāra* du mercure. Car il faut faire en sorte qu'il assimile et calcine le métal vil et les autres substances qui lui sont incorporées pour aboutir à l'or.[52] Mais de nombreux détails techniques restent énigmatiques.

(4) *ahavā puḍeṇa pakkaṃ mutta-kkhāreṇa loṇa-sahieṇa*
osahi-jugeṇa sahiyaṃ, khaṇeṇa ghāsaṃ ghaṇaṃ hoi.
'Ou bien: cuite par le procédé de chauffage *puṭa* avec de l'urine (sk. *mūtra*) et des alcalis[53], accompagnée de sel, accompagnée d'une addition de plantes, en un instant, la bouchée (de substances minérales) s'épaissit.'[54]

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[51] Cf. *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu* (Indian Materia Medica) of Śrī Bhāvamiśra (c. 1500-1600 A.D.). Commentary by Dr. K.C. CHUNEKAR, Varanasi 1979, 483.

[52] Cf. *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* chap. 16 'Assimilation de la bouchée de métal par le mercure'.

[53] Ou peut-être: l'urine (comme) alcali. En métallurgie, la nitruration de l'acier par chauffe et trempe dans l'urine est une opération bien connue.

[54] Sur le procédé de chauffage, voir *Rasārṇava* index s.v. *puṭa* et *puṭapāka*; *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 5.138-139; JOSHI, p.287ss. — L'emploi d'urine animale a sa place dans les opérations alchimiques, et en particulier dans la cuisson: voir, par exemple, SATYAPRAKASH, p.368, 370, 374, 388.

On notera ici pk. *ghāsa* qui doit correspondre au sk. *grāsa* (t.tech.). On appelle ainsi l'ensemble des substances mélangées avec le mercure[55] et portées au feu. Le groupe *gr-* aboutit normalement en moyen-indien à *gg-*,[56] mais le cas de la racine *√gras* 'dévorer' est particulier. Elle est en prakrit susceptible de croisements avec la racine *√ghas*, de sens voisin.[57] Le genre neutre du vocable est plus surprenant, mais les fluctuations masculin-neutre semblent fréquentes dans ces strophes (*infra*, v.7ab).

Vient ensuite la phase de l'ébullition (sk. *svedana*). L'interprétation de cette *gīti* est incertaine.

(5) *ekkaṃ uvarasa-loṇaṃ mutta-kkhāreṇa*[58] *saṃjuyaṃ kāuṃ*
dejjasu heṭṭh'upparao vatthe[59] *bandhejja ḍola-seeṇa.*
'Après avoir ajouté urine et alcalis à l'ensemble *uparasa* + sel, verse en bas et en haut[60]. On nouera dans un morceau de tissu (les substances) et on les portera à ébullition dans (un appareil) oscillant[61].'

Une seule chose est à peu près claire: le texte évoque ici l'un des appareils de base de l'alchimiste, le *dolā-yantra* (litt. 'appareil-balançoire'). Les *rasaśāstra* en prescrivent l'utilisation précisément pour l'ébullition.[62] L'évolution sk. *d-* > pk. *ḍ-* est attendue.[63] Pour le reste, je traduis en rapprochant du *Rasaprakāśasudhākara*.[64]

E. On s'achemine progressivement vers l'assimilation (rac. *√jar*: pk. *jīrai*; *jaresijjā*, optatif; pp.*jinna*).

(6) *jīrai jām'ekkeṇaṃ, puṇo vi sattaṃ ghaṇaṃ payacchejjā.*
solasa aṭṭha cauttthaṃ bhāyaṃ ghāsaṃ jaresijjā.

(7ab) *eeṇaṃ joeṇaṃ sama-bhāyaṃ jinna-jinnato nāyaṃ.*

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[55] *Rasaratnasamuccaya* 8.71ss.: SATYAPRAKASH, 491.

[56] R. PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, § 287.

[57] E. LEUMANN, *Das Aupapâtika Sûtra*, Leipzig 1883, glossaire s.v. *ghāsa*; *ghāsai* 'manger' en apabhraṃśa (NARESH KUMAR, *Apabhraṃśa-Hindī Kośa*, Ghaziabad 1987, s.v.); *ghisai*, même sens (*PSM* s.v.).

[58] Le texte imprimé porte *khāramutteṇa* qui détruit la régularité métrique. *Muttakkhāreṇa*, que je propose de lire, figure déjà au v.4.

[59] Je retiens la leçon *vatthe* donnée comme variante. L'édition porte *vatthaṃ*.

[60] *Upparao*: à rapprocher de *upariṃ* = *uvari*?

[61] *Seeṇa* = sk. *svedena*, instr. sg., mais comment le rendre comme tel?

[62] P.C. RAY, *History of Chemistry*, 189 avec illustration; JOSHI, 249; *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 5.4; ROY, note à p.7; *ubi alia*.

[63] PISCHEL § 218; *CDIAL* 6582 et 6585.

[64] 9.96ss.: SATYAPRAKASH, 443; cf. *sampuṭaṃ vāsasâveṣṭya dolāyāṃ svedayet tataḥ*.

'Une veille (= trois heures) suffit pour l'assimilation. (La bouchée) offrira à nouveau une essence compacte.[65] La bouchée (de substances minérales) peut être assimilée au seizième, au huitième ou au quart. Avec cette combinaison en proportion égale, l'assimilation (par le mercure) sera reconnue comme complète.'[66]

F. La dernière strophe est une allusion à la théorie des *bīja*, déjà attestée dans la *Km.* (*JEĀS*, 1, § 7B) et connue du *rasaśāstra*. L'addition d'une 'semence' d'or (ou d'argent) au mercure passe pour augmenter sa force dévorante,[67] et donc sa capacité de transmutation qui croît en proportion de la quantité incorporée.

(7cd) *hemeṇa samaṃ sūyaṃ saeṇa tambaṃ varaṃ kuṇai.*

(8) *du-guṇeṇa sahassa-guṇo, cau-gguṇo*[68] *lakkha-vehio hoi*
cha-gguṇio sūya-varo koḍī-veha-kkhamo[69] *hoi.*
'Avec de l'or, le mercure produit un cuivre excellent pour cent (fois son propre poids). Avec deux fois plus (d'or), l'excellent mercure (transmute) mille fois (son propre poids); avec quatre fois plus (d'or), il transmute cent mille fois (son propre poids); avec six fois plus (d'or), il est capable de transmuter dix millions de fois (son propre poids).'

L'expression *tambaṃ varaṃ kuṇai* est curieuse. Le produit de la transmutation doit normalement être l'or (ou l'argent): "cuivre excellent" signifie donc probablement un cuivre qui n'est plus considéré comme ayant sa nature de métal vil, qui équivaut au métal noble.

9. Pour avoir la certitude que les strophes ci-dessus proviennent bien du *Jp.*, il faudrait que le texte soit disponible. Or l'espoir qu'avait fait naître l'unique manuscrit intitulé *Yoniprābhṛta* a été partiellement déçu. On cherche en vain la trace de ces strophes dans les quarante feuillets qui le constituent.[70] L'alchimie a pourtant une petite place dans ce manuscrit composite où ont été regroupés plusieurs textes prakrits de tailles diverses, en vers ou en prose, qui tous concernent l'*āyurveda* (au sens large) ou la magie. L'actuel *Yoniprābhṛta* a-t-il donc remplacé l'ancien *Jp.* tombé en désuétude?

Le manuscrit est tout à fait lisible, mais les bords sont le plus souvent très endommagés: les lacunes sont donc importantes, et rares sont les feuillets qui portent une

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[65] Le *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi* 4.37 définit ainsi le t.tech. *sattva*: 'Un minéral associé avec des soudes de cendres, des liquides acides et des solvants est chauffé au soufflet dans un fourneau. L'extrait que l'on en obtient est appelé essence.'

[66] Traduction tout à fait hasardeuse. La syntaxe m'échappe.

[67] *Rasārṇava* 8.17ss.: SATYAPRAKASH, 385; *Rasaratnasamuccaya* 8.67: SATYAPRAKASH, 492.

[68] Le texte imprimé porte *caugguṇeṇa ya* qui détruit la régularité métrique. *Caugguṇo*, que je propose de lire, est une variante attestée par deux manuscrits. La syntaxe de ce membre de phrase est alors comparable à celle des troisième et quatrième pāda.

[69] Le texte imprimé porte *koḍivehukkhamo* (?).

[70] Je remercie vivement M. SHIV KUMAR SHARMA (CASS Poona) et Mme SAROJA BHATE (Univ. de Poona) qui ont fait les démarches nécessaires pour me faire parvenir une photocopie de ce manuscrit. Elle-même a été faite à partir de la photocopie que possède le Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

numérotation.[71] Leur classement même est problématique.[72] Trois demi-feuillets (ici appelés A—B—C) traitent du *dhātuvāda* (feuillet A v.1 *dhāuvvāya* [sic] *pavakkhāmi*). L'état du manuscrit exclut d'en présenter une édition même provisoire ou une analyse cohérente. Voici seulement un échantillon du vocabulaire technique employé.

Le premier feuillet (A) comporte les douze premières strophes à peu près complètes. La treizième n'est qu'entamée et apparemment les strophes suivantes manquent. Noter: *dhāuvvāya*, v.1, 3, 4; *rasavāya*, v.2; *jāraṇa-māraṇa*, v.2; *suvvaṃ raseṇaṃ golaṃ kāūṇa*, 'après avoir fait une boule du cuivre et du mercure', v.8; *uvarasa*, v.9; *rasa-gandhaya-suvvaṃ gahiūṇa ranjae tāraṃ*, 'après avoir pris le mercure, le soufre et le cuivre, on colore l'argent' (v.10): l'expression *ranjae tāraṃ* revient plusieurs fois dans tout ce passage (B v.37, 42, 43;*tāraṃ...ranjati*, B 41; *ranjae rayayaṃ* B v.44 et 45); *pāraya*, 'mercure', v.12 et passim.

Le deuxième feuillet (B) comporte les strophes énumérées 36-45, puis des strophes numérotées 41-46. Dans l'intervalle, quelques lignes en prose en sanskrit et prakrit mêlés énumèrent des plantes utilisées dans les opérations alchimiques (ex. *dagdharuhā, īśvarī* etc.). Noter: *hoi dalaṃ suddha-tārassa*, 'on obtient une feuille d'argent pur', v.45; *vālukā-agniyantra*, variété d'appareil (ROY, note a p.7; JOSHI, 259), v.41; *rasa-golaṃ bandhiūṇa*, 'après avoir fixé la boule de mercure', v.43; *jacca-kaṇayaṃ ca jāyai*, 'on obtient de l'or de qualité supérieure', v.46.

Le troisième feuillet (C) comporte les strophes 47 et suivantes jusqu'à 60, qui semble être la dernière de cette portion alchimique. Noter: *suvvaṃ melaviyaṃ andha-mūsāe*, 'le cuivre est mélangé dans un creuset aveugle', v.55; *thambhae vangaṃ*, 'solidifie l'étain' (v.57), expression que l'on retrouve dans le *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (n° 4, Raivatakalpa, v.24) et qui n'est pas étrangère au *rasaśāstra* (ROY v.364, 463, 558 et 722; Nityanātha, *Rasa-ratnākara*, section 3, chap.8: *vaṅga-stambhanādi-dala-karaṇa*); noms de métaux: *vanga*, 'étain', *suvva*, 'cuivre', *tāra* et *rayaya*, 'argent' (passim), *nāya* 'plomb', v.56, *āra*, 'laiton', v.39, 57-58; de *mahārasa*: *hema-makkhiya*, 'pyrites d'or', v.53; *darada*, 'cinnabre', v.51; d'*uparasa*: *gandhaya*, 'soufre' (passim), *kuṇaḍī*, 'orpiment', v.47, 51; et encore : *ṭaṅkaṇa*, 'borax', v.60.

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En somme, qu'elles soient techniques ou édifiantes, les littératures jaina témoignent de la connaissance que la communauté a des techniques de la métallurgie et de ses corollaires, les recherches des alchimistes.

Vis-à-vis de l'alchimie, l'attitude des maîtres paraît avoir été ambiguë. Si le canon est critique, les docteurs peuvent néanmoins faire valoir que, pour défendre utilement la

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[71] Description par H.R. KAPADIA, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. Vol.XVII: Jaina Literature and Philosophy. Part I: (a) Āgamika Literature. Poona 1935, p.383 n° 427 (cote: 266/A. 1882-83): date (de copie ou de rédaction?) saṃvat 1582 = 1525; H.D. VELANKAR, *Jinaratnakośa*, Bombay 1944, 325.

[72] Les feuillets 9a-19a forment un tout cohérent proposant des recettes médicales (v.187-616), et les feuillets 19b-27b contiennent les 333 strophes qui constituent le *Yoniprābhṛta* de Hariṣeṇa (recettes médicales). Pour le reste, seuls sont isolables des fragments qui ne peuvent être rattachés à l'ensemble. Certains feuillets décrivent des *yantra*, d'autres donnent des *mantra* (dont deux sont publiés par JHAVERY, *Mantra-śāstra*, Appendix A).

Doctrine, il leur faut tout connaître, les sciences profanes comme les enseignements de la religion; que les unes et les autres sont inséparables; que, en outre, pour guider leurs ouailles, il est nécessaire de sacrifier à leurs goûts: tous arguments utilisés en d'autres occasions. Peut-être gagnaient-ils ainsi eux-mêmes en prestige - et la communauté en fidèles généreux.

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Abréviations et éditions

CDIAL	=	R.L. TURNER, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1966
JEĀS	=	*Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*
JOSHI	=	DAMODAR JOSHI, *Rasaśāstra*, Trivandrum 1986
Jp.	=	*Joṇīpāhuḍa*: §§ 6ss.
Km.	=	*Kuvalayamālā* d'Uddyotanasūri: voir *JEĀS*, 1, 1990.
PSM	=	*Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo*
Rasaratnasamuccaya	=	éd. Bombay, saṃvat 1983
Rasārṇava	=	ed. by Dr. INDRADEO TRIPATHI, Varanasi 1978 (2ème éd.), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office (Haridas Sanskrit Series 88)
ROY	=	M. ROY — B.V. SUPPARAYAPPA, *Rasārṇavakalpa*. New Delhi 1976
Rasendracūḍāmaṇi	=	réf. à la traduction et aux glossaires techniques (inédits) que M. A. Roşu a aimablement mis à ma disposition.
SATYAPRAKASH	=	Dr. SATYAPRAKASH, *Prācīn bhārat meṃ rasāyan kā vikās*, Varanasi 1960 (Hindīsamiti Granthamālā 43)
t.tech.	=	terme technique de métallurgie ou d'alchimie.

Summary: *In a paper published in the first issue of this Journal, it has been shown how the Jainas were quite well acquainted with the metallurgists' technique and with its corollary, alchemy. As a matter of fact, alchemic episodes are inserted in Jaina novels, following the example set by the* Kuvalayamālā *(8th cent.). Three more examples are discussed here (§§ 1-3). Further, there are reasons to believe that some Jaina schools or gacchas had a leaning and special interest towards such practices (§ 4). This is the case of Jineśvarasūri (11th cent.), a member of the Candrakula of the Kharataragaccha who discusses the topic in his* Kathākośaprakaraṇa *and insists on the advantages of* dhātuvāda *as a technique which enables one to fulfil religious and social duties (§§ 5ff.). In this connection he refers to a text called* Joṇīpāhuḍa *as his source. The references to this lost work found here and there in Jaina literature (§§ 6-8) seem to be to a sort of imaginary archetype. The only known manuscript of a work bearing this title has apparently nothing to do with these quotations, but also includes a small section on* dhātuvāda *which is briefly analysed (§ 9).*

Index des termes techniques
(Renvois aux paragraphes ou aux notes)

āra 9
uvarasa 8D;9
osahi n.18;8D; mahosahi 8C (liste)
kaṇaya n.19
kancaṇa n.8;n.42
kappa 3C
kalā (64 ou 72 arts) 5
kallāṇa 3C
kālâyasa n.8
kuṇaḍī 9
(k)khāra 8D
gandhaya 9
ghāsa 8D;8E
√jar 8E; jāraṇa-māraṇa 9
Joṇīpāhuḍa 5;6ss.
ṭankaṇa 9
ḍola 8D
tau n.8
tamba n.8
tāra n.8;9
tumbaya 1
darada 9
dhamei n.18; dhamaṇa-khetta n.17
dhāu 3A; ti° n.22; dhāuṃ √dham 3A; dhāuvāya (dhātuvāda) n.11;8A;9; °bhāsā 3A; dhāuvāiya (dhātuvādika) 3A;3C;n.42
nāga n.18;9
pakka 8D
paḍai, pāḍai n.15;n.19
pāraya 8A;8C;9
puḍa 8D
bandha 8C: kakka° 8C; khoṭṭa° 8C; dāvaṇa° 8C; bhūi° 8C;
mutta 8D; °kkhāra 8D
musā, mūsā n.18; andha° 9;
ranjae (tāraṃ) 9
rayaya 9
rasa: mahā° n.8; °bila 2; °vāa 8A;9; °gola 9; °siddhi 3C;4; cf. vehi
loṇa 8D
vanga n.18;9; thambhae vangaṃ 9
Vasuhārā (paḍau) 3A;n.15;3B
vālukā(-yantra) 9
vehi(a): koḍi(ya)° 8B;8F; dhūma° 8B; lakkha° 8B;8F; saya° 8B; saya-sahassa° 1; sahassa° 2;8B
satta 8E
siddhi 3A; cf. rasa°
sumba: 3A;n.18; suvva 9
suvaṇṇa n.19;n.42
sūya(ya) 8A;8F; °vara 8F
sea(ṇa) 8D
hema 6; °makkhiya 9

Alchemy and Sacred Geography in the Mediaeval Deccan*

ARION ROŞU

Paṇḍitānāṃ Niddodi-Rāmacandra-
Bhaṭṭānāṃ saptatitame janmadināvasare.

In the course of my research on the history of Rasaśāstra, I learned, in the early 1980's, from a colleague who had visited the temples of Alampur, that the iconography of this Śaivite site as well as local traditions pointed to the former presence of alchemists in this region of the Deccan. In order to verify the grounds for this information, I proceeded with research that was as much philological and historical as it was archaeological and anthropological. I now wish to present the results of this interdisciplinary investigation, undertaken in libraries as well as in the field in Andhra Pradesh, in the sacred area of Śrīśailam, of which Alampur and other Śaivite sites are the constitutive parts.

The uncertainties regarding the origins of Indian alchemy and the development of its practices, together with the late appearance of its post-Gupta literature, cast a veil of obscurity over historical knowledge in this field. For this reason the Indologist should exploit any cultural vein that might yield material on the sketchy history of Rasaśāstra. From this point of view the legends concerning the holy place of Śrīśailam/Śrīparvata and the traditional gateway temples located at its cardinal points — especially Alampur to the west — are worth studying because of their abundant references to alchemy.

Śrīśailam is located at the high point of the Nallamalai Hills, to the south of the Kṛṣṇā River. According to a tradition corroborated by epigraphic evidence, the principal approaches to this nearly inaccessible holy place passed through four gateways, which faced the four cardinal directions. These were Tripurāntakam to the east, Siddhavattam to the south, Alampur to the west, and Umāmaheśvaram to the north. Since the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (757—973) inscriptions mention Śrīśailam as having four main gateways (*dvāra*).

It is Śaivism that provides the framework for the religious links that join these four main gateways to the pilgrimage centre of Śrīśailam. The sacred area defined within these limits is an apparent representation of the *mahāsadāśivatattva*, which is itself manifested in Śiva's five forms. The god Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam itself thus corresponds to Īśāna, while the gateways to Śrīśailam are marked by *mukhaliṅgakṣetras* which correspond to Śiva's four other forms: these are Tatpuruṣa to the east (Tripurāntakam), Aghora to the south (Siddhavattam), Sadyojāta to the west (Alampur) and Vāmadeva to the north (Umāmaheśvaram).

Śrīśailam, the centre of Śaivism in the Deccan, has been mentioned in both Sanskrit and Dravidian literatures since the first centuries of the Christian era. Archaeological remains testify to the great antiquity of Śaivite devotion in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley, which

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separates the Deccan to the north from the peninsular plains to the south.[1] The beginning of work on the Śrīśailam Dam has given a new impulse to archaeological research here over the past years.[2] This Hydroelectric Project has led to the systematic exploration of archaeological sites as well as to salvage operations (principally the transplant of several monuments threatened by the waters of an artificial reservoir into the Mahbubnagar and Kurnool Districts of Andhra Pradesh).[3]

Located on the Nallamalai Range, Śrīśailam is a site surrounded on all sides by forest. The geological grandeur of this plateau, already described in ancient accounts of the sacred place, still impresses the modern traveller. In its chapter entitled *Śrīśailopākhyāna*, the *Padma-Purāṇa* refers to the area's rich plant life and natural beauty, both of which were favourable to the spiritual exercises of ascetics there. The magnificence of the site is also evoked in the more prosaic description given of Śrīśailam in Āndhra village registers, the famous *kaifiyat*s of the MacKenzie Collection. These Telugu administrative records apart from their information on the wide variety of fauna thriving in the area's dense forests, also note the activities of the herbalists of the Śrīśailam region, whose medicinal plants are used both in the preparation of drugs and in alchemical operations (*rasavāda*).[4]

Such natural conditions favour the therapeutic and chemical activities sometimes referred to in pilgrimage literature. Texts in this popular genre naively invite the Indian authorities to encourage a study of the area's natural resources. Even today, there is a number of *sādhus* at Śrīśalam who prepare plant- and mineral-based remedies, and people still love to tell the tale of the rapid healing of a worker on the Śrīśailam Project whose wound was treated with such preparations. These local healers, who also know the location of springs of pure water, which quench all thirst, are supposed to prepare their medicines by the *puṭa* method of heating, traditional to Āyurveda and Rasaśāstra. Similarly, at Alampur, the western gateway to Śrīśailam, Gadiyarama Ramakrishna Sarma, a local pandit who is especially interested in the region's alchemical tradition, asserts that it is still possible to prepare, with local herbs, the medicines formerly prescribed by the *siddha*s in the alchemical texts (*Ānandakanda, Rasaratnākara*).

In the context of itinerant devotion, the clockwise circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam is an act of infinite merit (*anantapuṇya*), while in Āndhra, this *tīrtha* represents the sacred centre towards which the devotee of Śiva orients himself in order to formulate the ritual intention (*saṅkalpa*) prior to his daily worship. Among the earliest Sanskrit sources to refer to Śrīśailam are Subandhu's

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[1] See V. Anuradha, *Temples at Śrīśailam. An Art Historical Study*. Ph.D. - thesis in the Department of History and Archaeology, Nagarjuna University (Nagarjuna Nagar, Andhra Pradesh) 1988. This doctoral dissertation is the most complete monograph written on the subject since the first description of Śrīśailam by Colin MacKenzie (*Asiatic Researches 1798*). However, before publication this dissertation needs attentive revision.

[2] See B. Dagens, *Entre Alampur et Śrīśailam. Recherches archéologiques en Andhra Pradesh*, Pondichéry 1984. Cf. *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology* edited by A. Ghosh *II*, New Delhi 1989, 420-422: Śrīśailam Project submersible area.

[3] See e.g. I.K. Sarma, 'Alampur Temples. Rare Evidences on Constructional Modes and Consecrational Rites', *Personality in Indian Archaeology. Essays in Honour of B.K. Thapar* (in press).

[4] P. Sitapati, *Srisailam Temple Kaifiyat, I [English Summary]*, Hyderabad 1981, 22.

Vāsavadattā, a seventh century romance, and the *Padma-Purāṇa*, which offers the hope of deliverance (*mukti*) to those who have seen the holy mountain. According to legend, Śrīśailam, besides being visited by Śaṅkara, was a site at which Nāgārjuna set up an alchemical laboratory (*Rasaratnākara*), and the place where Vyāsa wrote the *Śrīśaila-khaṇḍa*.

The alchemical activities associated with this Śaivite site, as described in the Rasa-śāstra texts and in the pilgrimage literature, correspond to the manifold functions of the temple in India, where sanctuaries, besides being religious centres, are also pivots of social, cultural and economic activity.

We find here and there in the Sanskrit literary sources references to various tantric trends that grew out of the Kāpālika presence at Śrīśailam. Inscriptions dating from the seventh century onwards indicate that Śaivism was principally represented in this holy place by the Kālāmukha school (related in its doctrines to the Pāśupatas), which was predominant in Āndhra from the 9th to 12th centuries, prior to the rise of the Vīraśaivas in the 13th and 14th centuries. In this period, the authority of the religious superiors of Śrīśailam extended over all the Śaivite temples of both Karṇāṭaka and Āndhra.

Śrīśailam is reputed to be a *siddhikṣetra*, an ideal place for yogins, as well as for magicians and those contemplatives known as *siddha*s, whose doctrine is an element of tantrism. Whether legendary or real, these eminent beings are considered to have attained spiritual perfection or to have come to possess wondrous powers of both a spiritual and material nature (the art of healing, techniques of rejuvenation, alchemical operations, etc.). A number of temples in the Śrīśailam area are consecrated to Śiva Siddheśvara, the lord of the "perfected ones". According to certain archaeologists, these sanctuaries may have been founded by *siddha* ascetics who were practitioners of alchemy (*rasavāda*). Datable to the seventh century on the basis of both their architecture and inscriptions, these temples likely belong to the same period as that in which the *siddha* movement originated in the region.

In the eighth century, Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* evokes a Kāpālika centre at Śrīśailam, out of which came such tantrics as the skull-bearing Aghoraghaṇṭa, who haunted cremation grounds in order to propitiate the goddess Cāmuṇḍā with terrible forms of worship. A difficult episode in the life of Śaṅkarācārya is also said to have occurred in or near Śrīśailam, where he was nearly sacrificed by the evil Kāpālika Ugra-Bhairava. One of the characters in Kṣemīśvara's drama called *Caṇḍakauśika* (10th or 11th century) is possessed of magical abilities, some of which seem to recall the wondrous powers known to Buddhist tantrism, such as elixirs of long life (*rasāyana*s) and the transmutation of base metals (*dhātuvāda*).

Several centuries after Bhavabhūti, the presence of *siddha*s and Kāpālikas at Śrīśailam is confirmed in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. This twelfth-century literary reference is reinforced by data found in the alchemical literature. At many points the *Rasārṇava*, which dates from the same period, cites procedures (*krama*s, *yoga*s) employed by the Kāpālika ascetics to tint mercury and other metals. The *Rasakāmadhenu*, a late text dating from the seventeenth century, contains references to these same processes, which are attributed to the Kāpālikas.

From the *Mahābhārata* onwards, we encounter the names of Śrīparvata or Śrīśailam throughout Sanskrit literature as well as in a number of Prakrit and vernacular sources. However, it is the Purāṇic texts, and most notably the *Skanda-Purāṇa* and the literature attached to it, which contain the greatest wealth of references to this subject. This text

has come down to us in two recensions, the one published and the other unedited; as such, it remains impossible for us to define the relationship between what are actually two homonymous works. The printed editions of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* vary from the original composition of the text and include many independent documents (*māhātmya*s, *ākhyāna*s, etc.), which are at times translated or adapted into vernacular languages.

There is still great confusion about the literature claiming allegiance to the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, including the *Śrīśailakhaṇḍa* and *Śrīśailamāhātmya*. The former text has recently been adapted into Telugu, on the basis of a number of Sanskrit manuscripts, a work intended to remedy the prior absence of a vernacular text glorifying this celebrated Śaiva *kṣetra* of the Deccan. Concerning particular pilgrimage sites, the *māhātmya*s or *sthala-purāṇa*s, though of recent origin, seek to attach themselves to one or another ancient Purāṇa.

Like many Indian sovereigns, the princes of the Āndhra country gave constant support to Sanskrit literary production, down to the 14th-15th centuries, when the Reḍḍi kings began to favour literary creations in the language of the country. Relieved of the weight of Sanskrit domination, Telugu has become the vehicle for a vernacular literature that, while it reflects pan-Indian values, also bears the stamp of Āndhra culture, a culture marked in the mediaeval period by the *siddha* ideology of "perfected" beings renowned for their signal abilities in yoga (supernatural powers), alchemy (aurifaction) and medicine (techniques for good health and rejuvenation).

Spread over the whole of the subcontinent and beyond (Nepal, Tibet), the *siddha* cult, common to both Hindus and Buddhists, produced several lists that enumerate these superior beings, varying in number between five and eighty-four. Certain of these *siddhas*, such as Matsyendra and his disciple Gorakṣa, are names that are as greatly revered in the North as they are in South India. These belong to the group of the nine 'Protectors' (*nātha*), whose legends make up the subject matter of the poem entitled *Navanātha-caritra*, written in Telugu by Gaurana in the 14th or 15th century. This work was written at the request of the superior of one of the five Śaiva manasteries of Śrīśailam. This sacred site is in fact singled out in the Nātha or Siddha traditions as a place visited by their most renowned masters.

According to Gaurana, Nāgārjunanātha taught aurifaction (*siddhahemavāda*) to a disciple whom he called Ātreya; in an earlier portion of Gaurana's poem, however, this same individual is called Nāgārjuna Siddha. Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry sees this as a corrupted reading, and suggests that Ātreya be replaced with *ātmīya*. Nāgārjuna would in fact have given his own (*ātmīya*) name to his disciple, who was thenceforth known as Nāgārjuna Siddha or Siddha Nāgārjuna. It was in any case this disciple who, initiated into alchemy, proceeded with an experiment of transmutation at Śrīśailam, by which he intended to transform the mountain into a heap of gold. This gold-maker's projected experiment was halted by the god Viṣṇu, who went so far as to take the ambitious alchemist's life. Here, the vernacular account overlaps with Sanskrit literature, which also knows of a Nāgārjuna as alchemist.

The cult of the *navanāthas* must have been popular in Āndhra, as the spiritual and material powers of these ancient masters were recalled, in public gatherings, after the fashion of the Epic and Purāṇic accounts. Writers such as Jakkana and Vallabha make allusions to this cult, as well as to general tantric practices.

In the narrative collection known as the *Bhōjarājīyamu*, the fifteenth-century Telugu author Ananta magnifies the greatness of the eleventh-century King Bhoja of Dhārā.

One of his tales brings into play the *siddha* Sarpaṭi [sic], who knew how to transmute metals with smoke: at the king's palace, he changes into gold the alloy of five metals (*pañcaloha*) with which his guest room was constructed. The king steals the secret of this alchemical operation from the credulous ascetic by promising to teach him transmutation by breath — a technique of which he did not have the slightest knowledge — in exchange. These two techniques of transmutation, with smoke (*dhūmavedha*) and breath (*śabdavedha*), are described in Rasaśāstra.

For Vēmana, the eminent fifteenth(?)-century poet, all knowledge is vain save for alchemy in this world, and *brahmavidyā* in the world beyond. His accounts of aurifaction, clothed in a Telugu that is as naive as it is esoteric, recalls the style of the Sanskrit alchemical treatises, especially that of the *Rasaratnākara*, attributed to the *siddha* Nityanātha. He knows of an all-purpose magical collyrium (*añjana*), and compares liberation to the transmutation of iron into gold through its contact with the philosopher's stone (*paruṣa*).

According to modern historians, the main temple of Śiva Mallikārjuna was built at the heart of the Śrīśailam enclosure in either the 10th or the 13th-14th centuries. The first epigraphical reference to this holy site dates from 1063, while the most ancient known inscription found *in situ* is from 1167. Worthy of special mention is the "Pavilion of Heroes' Heads" (*Vīraśiromaṇḍapa*), built in the 14th century, at which votaries offered their heads and tongues to show their devotion to Śiva. A number of inscriptions, as well as several *prākāra* bas-reliefs, illustrate this self-sacrificial practice. These also recall the terrifying behaviour of the Śrīśailam Kāpālikas, mentioned by Bhavabhūti in his eighth-century drama *Mālatīmādhava*.

The western gateway (*paścimadvāra*) to Śrīśailam corresponds to Alampur, which was a fortified temple town under the protection of Jogulāmbā, the tutelary divinity of this *tīrtha* on the west bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā River, an *uttaravāhinī* here. Epigraphically mentioned by the name of Jogeśvarī, this "mother of yogins" is identifiable with the Yogeśvarī known to Sanskrit alchemical literature. With her terrifying features, she is considered to be a form of the horrifying Cāmuṇḍā/Caṇḍā/Caṇḍī, one of the group of Seven Mothers (*saptamātṛkā*), who were especially revered in the Cālukya age.

One also finds images of these goddesses in the sanctuary of Bāla-Brahmā, the most important of Alampur's nine temples. A local tradition relates the different compound names of these nine temples, which share the common member of Brahmeśvara (Garuḍa-, Vīra-, Padma-, Viśva-, Kumāra-, Svarga-, Tāraka-, Sūrya- [Arka-], and Bāla-Brahmeśvara), to nine plants prescribed in alchemical operations (*rasabandhamūlikā*s).

The ancient main entrance to this group of shrines, which dates as far back as the seventh century, is set off by two historiated pillars, whose panels illustrate the alchemical legend of this holy place. According to the local pandit Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma, who takes an unpublished *sthalapurāṇa* as his authority, these temples were built by an alchemist who had obtained the *rasa* severally from the head of Brahmeśvara, from the mouth of Jogulāmbā, from the navel of Gaṇeśa, from the toe of Pārvatī, from the right arm of Bhairava and so on. The same scholar maintains that the iconography of Alampur includes several images of *rasasiddha*s, whose alchemical practices flourished there in days gone by according to tradition. Archaeologists and epi-

graphists, however, are unable to find the slightest support for this oral and literary tradition,[5] which, according to their evidence, is apocryphal.

Several treatises on Rasaśāstra make mention of this alchemical tradition, both at Śrīśailam and in the surrounding sacred area, which was delineated by temples that traditionally served as gateways to this celebrated holy place in Āndhra. As the unedited *Rasendramaṅgala* reminds us, Nāgārjuna Siddha took residence there to teach the practices of *rasavidyā*. The mediaeval *Ānandakanda* and *Rasaratnākara* contain long chapters on this Śaiva centre, chapters which are characterized by marvellous descriptions, which abound in recipes for the treatment of the body and for operations on metals. A favourable place for the perfect contemplatives (*siddhas*), Śrīśailam is a site which, dotted with philosophers' stones, was created by Śiva in order that his Vīraśaiva devotees might acquire supernatural powers, most especially that of *rasarasāyana* (*Vīramaheśvarāgama*).

Śrīśailam and its sacred area in Āndhra Pradesh is not the sole Indian example of a sacred geography marked by alchemical allusions and references. In fact, the descriptions of Mount Girnar in Kathiawar as well as of other Jaina pilgrimage sites exhibit a fascination with alchemy, as shown in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*[6] and the Jaina biographies of the alchemist and magician Nāgārjuna. This paper is thus a contribution to the study of the development of Rasaśāstra in Indian culture and is particularly related to research into the phenomenon of pilgrimage in South Asia, a theme in which Indologists have recently shown a heightened interest.[7]

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[5] See I.K. Sarma, 'Epigraphical Data on Alampur Temples and the Shrine of Jogulāmbā', *Indian Museum Bulletin 1989* (in press). A disappointing paper: I. Sanjeeva Rao, 'Rasasiddhas of Alampur', *Bulletin of the Indian Institute of History of Medicine*, 13, 1983, 38-44.

[6] Christine Chojnacki will give a translation of the alchemical chapter 4 on Girnar of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, a Jaina pilgrimage guide, in an appendix to my French paper (see *supra*).

[7] At the University of Groningen, Professor J. Ensink initiated and supervised a research project on pilgrimage in South Asia, which enabled H. Bakker and A.W. Entwistle to compile their excellent interdisciplinary studies on Ayodhyā (1986) and Braj (1987). In the framework of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference at Leiden in 1987, H. Bakker organized a panel on pilgrimage and edited the papers produced: *History of Sacred Places in India as reflected in Traditional Literature*, Leiden etc. 1990.

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Review Article

Indische Medizin und Spiritualität*

Rahul Peter Das

Auch für das Interesse westlicher Gesellschaften überhaupt an indischer Philosophie scheint zuzutreffen, was Wilhelm Halbfass speziell in Hinblick auf Europa schreibt: 'Das philosophische wie auch das philosophiegeschichtliche Interesse an Indien vermag sich durchaus unabhängig von der Frage zu entfalten, ob es in Indien ein Äquivalent dessen gebe, was wir als Philosophie zu besitzen meinen; und ganz unabhängig von dieser Frage hat die *Suche* nach der indischen Philosophie in mannigfacher Weise in das europäische Selbstverständnis eingegriffen und zur europäischen Selbstdarstellung und Selbstbefragung beigetragen. Ganz abgesehen davon, was in Indien tatsächlich zu "finden" ist und wie es im einzelnen gefunden wurde ...'.[1] Gleichzeitig macht Halbfass darauf aufmerksam, daß es 'kaum noch zu vertreten' sei, indische (und andere asiatische) 'Denksysteme' im Sinne H.-G. Gadamers nur als 'rätselhafte Aussageformen von Tiefsinn und Weisheit' anzusehen.[2] Tatsächlich scheint aber gerade dieses angebliche Charakteristikum eine besondere Faszination auf viele im Westen auszuüben, die sich zur indischen Gedankenwelt hingezogen fühlen; andererseits wird das so rezipierte Andersartige in der Regel nur aus einer speziellen westlichen Perspektive gesehen,[3] der sich anzupassen dann wiederum die Vermittler dieses Andersartigen große Mühe geben. Auch für die Rezeption der im Westen immer mehr Beachtung findenden indischen Medizin[4] hat all dies Folgen, da es mannigfache Verbindungen zwischen dieser und verschiedenen indischen philosophischen Systemen zu geben scheint, sie also im Westen nicht nur aus naturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive betrachtet wird, d.h. nicht nur als *Heil*-, sondern auch als *Heils*system. Ein für eine gebildete, allgemeine Leserschaft bestimmtes Werk, das sich mit diesem medizinisch-philosophischen Themenkomplex auseinandersetzt und von einem Verfasser stammt, der sowohl philosophisch als auch indologisch vorgebildet ist und sich zudem sehr für meditative Spiritualität interessiert, dürfte daher prinzipiell stets willkommen sein; ein solches Werk hat Eckard Wolz-Gottwald nun vorgelegt. *Es versucht, in therapeutische Kontexte eingebundene philosophisch-spirituelle Elemente im indischen medizinischen System im einzelnen aufzuspüren, um sie anschließend u.a. auch in Hinblick auf ihre eventuelle Relevanz für uns im Westen zu untersuchen.* Angesichts des nachweislich regen Interesses für das von Wolz-Gottwald behandelte Thema wird man wohl nicht fehlgehen in der Annahme, daß sein Buch das Bild der indischen Medizin,

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* Zugleich eine Besprechung von: Eckard Wolz-Gottwald, *Heilung aus der Ganzheit. Āyurveda als Philosophie in der Praxis*. Verlag Hinder + Deelmann: Gladenbach 1991. 258 pp. DM 30,—. ISBN 3-87348-143-X.

[1] *Indien und Europa. Perspektiven ihrer geistigen Begegnung*, Basel/Stuttgart 1981, 182.

[2] Op.cit., S.482[22].

[3] Vgl. hierzu auch Halbfass, S.185-188.

[4] Insofern über das Wesen dieser Medizin überhaupt einigermaßen klare Vorstellungen vorhanden sind, was wohl nicht immer der Fall ist.

das für die Allgemeinheit maßgeblich ist, nicht unerheblich beeinflussen könnte, insbesondere im deutschsprachigen Raum.

Über das eigentliche Wesen der Verbindung zwischen Philosophie/Spiritualität und Medizin läßt das Werk[5] einen allerdings vorerst im unklaren. Gemäß dem Text auf der Rückseite des Umschlages zeigt Āyurveda, daß Philosophie 'auch mitten in der lebendigen Praxis stehen kann. ... Philosophie hat hier einen Weg aus dem Gefängnis der Studierstuben gefunden. Therapie und insbesondere Psychotherapie dringen durch die Einbeziehung von Yoga und spirituell-philosophischer Praxis zu den Grenzen menschlicher Existenz.' Konkreteres erfährt man nicht; auch das Vorwort Christian Scharfetters klärt einen nicht auf.[6] Die Einleitung Wolz-Gottwalds selbst geht weder auf die Frage ein, ob ein solcher Zusammenhang tatsächlich bestehe, noch auf die eigentliche Art des postulierten Zusammenhangs, sondern scheint diesen nicht näher beschriebenen Zusammenhang vorauszusetzen. So lesen wir dort: 'Die Erkenntnis, daß spirituelle Philosophie und Praxis auch therapeutisch zu verstehen ist, hatte man jedoch schon vor über 2000 Jahren in Indien selbst gewonnen. Ärzte der traditionellen Heilkunde, des Āyurveda, sahen, daß der Weg des Yoga oder eine spirituell-philosophische Praxis die Weiterführung der Behandlung psychosomatischer und psychischer Krankheiten bedeuten kann. ... Sie wurden sich bewußt, daß in der Verdeckung des Selbsts bei dem als normal geltenden Menschen eine wichtige Ursache insbesondere der psychosomatischen Krankheiten liegt. Ärzte des Āyurveda nahmen Konzeptionen und Methoden der Philosophie auf und integrierten sie in eine ganzheitlich orientierte Psychotherapie und psychosomatische Medizin', und so 'vermochte man ... eine spirituell-philosophisch gegründete Psychotherapie und Heilkunde zu entwerfen' (S.18).

Angesichts dessen 'verspricht man sich heute doch mancherorts viel von seinem ganzheitlichen Ansatz, seinem psychosomatischen Zugang oder der Integration von Meditation und spiritueller Philosophie in die Therapie' (l.c.). Wolz-Gottwald möchte dazu beitragen, 'die vergessene Ganzheitlichkeit des klassischen Āyurveda insbesondere der philosophischen Psychotherapie zu erschließen' und dabei auch 'einen Denkprozeß bei uns anregen, der erstarrte Strukturen von Therapie, Religiosität oder auch Philosophie zu hinterfragen vermag' (S.19f.). Zwar kann die 'philosophische Psychotherapie' nicht von außen wertfrei analysiert werden, doch sie 'ist deswegen noch lange nicht subjektiv. Sie verlangt aber den Wandel des Subjekts zu einer ganzheitlich-unverstellten Bewußtheit' (S.20). 'Der ganzheitliche Zugang der philosophischen Psychotherapie übersteigt das rationale Begreifen, aber auch den Bereich eines irrationalen Okkultismus. Er zeigt einen dritten Weg jenseits von Rationalität und Irrationalität. In dieser Weise beschrieben die āyurvedischen Klassiker sowohl eine Medizin, die auf rationalen Grundsätzen beruht, als auch eine magisch-religiöse Therapie. Von beiden hebt sich die philosophische Psychotherapie ab, die eher als Meta-Therapie bezeichnet werden muß. Für beide bildet sie Fundament und Grundlage' (l.c.).

Das hier Dargelegte scheint für Wolz-Gottwald gerade für die Form der indischen Medizin zuzutreffen, die in den "klassischen" Werken (d.h. denen der Vṛddhatrayī) ge-

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[5] Das in seinem bibliographischen Teil leider mehrere Druckfehler aufweist.

[6] Wir erfahren nur, daß Scharfetter im Āyurveda (dieser Begriff wird nicht präzisiert) ein Mittel sieht, um spirituelle Erlösung zu erlangen, wobei er ihn allerdings unterscheidungslos mit tibetischem Buddhismus, Vedānta und chinesischer, griechischer, christlicher und heute im Westen populärer "östlicher" Mystik vermengt.

lehrt wird.[7] Verbunden mit dem eher apodiktischen Ton der Einleitung könnte dies nun den Eindruck erwecken, hier werde wieder einmal versucht, die erwähnten Werke nach nur oberflächlicher Prüfung für eine schon feststehende These in Anspruch zu nehmen, um so (diesmal auf dem Wege der Medizin) das Klischee des "spirituellen Ostens" weiter zu verbreiten.

Dem ist aber nicht so. Wolz-Gottwald schreibt nämlich auch (S.21), daß diese Werke in Bezug auf ihre Lehrmeinungen nicht homogen seien, daß solches einem aber im heutigen Indien immer wieder suggeriert werde. Er spricht auch von der Notwendigkeit differenzierender Betrachtung. Hierdurch gibt er zu erkennen, daß ihm die Problematik in diesem Bereich durchaus bewußt ist. Die Lektüre der weiteren Kapitel zeigt dann, daß die Einleitung in der Tat einen falschen Eindruck seines Buches vermittelt. Denn im weiteren Verlauf des Werkes stellt er eben nicht apodiktische Pauschalbehauptungen über Āyurveda auf, sondern versucht, das heute als "klassisch" empfundene System kritisch zu untersuchen, um die verschiedenen Komponenten ausfindig zu machen, die sich in ihm vereint haben. Diese Untersuchung und die daraus abgeleiteten Thesen Wolz-Gottwalds verdienen es durchaus, ernsthaft diskutiert zu werden.

Gemäß Wolz-Gottwald ist im "klassischen" Āyurveda eine Verbindung von drei verschiedenen 'großen therapeutischen Ansätze[n]' nachzuweisen (S.22), die ihrem Wesen nach als 'rational', 'magisch-religiös' und 'spirituell-philosophisch' bezeichnet werden können und sich sowohl in den Krankheitstheorien als auch in der Therapie ausfindig machen lassen; die zum letzten Ansatz passende Therapie nennt er 'philosophische Psychotherapie'.[8] Diese 'philosophische Psychotherapie' ist gemäß Wolz-Gottwald (wenn ich ihn recht verstehe) im großen und ganzen auf die Entstehungszeit der *Carakasaṃhitā* beschränkt, geriet aber selbst in deren Schule — und erst recht bei anderen — alsbald in Vergessenheit und spielte kaum mehr eine Rolle.[9]

Das ist natürlich eine gewichtige These. Auch die Schlüsse, die Wolz-Gottwald im zweiten Teil seines Werkes daraus für die moderne westliche medizinische Praxis schließt, sind potentiell von großer Bedeutung. Indes kann zu diesem zweiten Teil im Rahmen dieser Besprechung kaum etwas gesagt werden, da es dabei größtenteils um Bereiche des Spirituellen geht, die letztendlich mit dem einfachen Instrumentarium der Wissenschaftsmethodik nicht ergründbar erscheinen. Der erste Teil aber, auf dessen Schlußfolgerungen sich vieles, jedoch nicht alles im zweiten Teil stützt, ist diesem Instrumentarium sehr wohl zugänglich, denn auch Wolz-Gottwald kann sich letztendlich nur auf die vorhandenen Texte der "klassischen" medizinischen Tradition berufen und folglich *primär* nur auf der Basis von philologischen Mitteln seine These entwickeln, da sein Gedankengebäude sich ja auf Interpretationen usw. der Aussagen dieser Werke stützt und folglich auf einem mit philologischen Mitteln erstellten Fundament steht; erst die philologische Bearbeitung des Materials und Sichtbarmachung von Aussagen im textkri-

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[7] Wolz-Gottwald läßt bei seinen Betrachtungen allerdings den *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* beiseite, da *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* und *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* so eng verbunden seien, daß eine Berücksichtigung beider sich erübrige (S.19). Übersehen wird dabei, daß sich im *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* vieles findet, das eben *nicht* im *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, oft auch nicht in der *Caraka-* und/oder *Suśrutasaṃhitā* enthalten ist.

[8] S. zu diesem Terminus auch op.cit., S.66f.

[9] Auf S.115 schreibt er auch: 'Die philosophische Psychotherapie bildet nicht nur die Grundlage des Magisch-Religiösen. Sie zielt auch darauf, Religiosität an sich weiterzuführen und zu vertiefen.'

tisch relevantem Kontext macht diese der weiteren Deutung überhaupt zugänglich. Die Gedanken in diesem Teil von Wolz-Gottwalds Werk können daher durchaus mit philologischen Mitteln in Bezug auf ihre Stimmigkeit oder Nichtstimmigkeit in methodologischer Hinsicht überprüft werden; dies soll im folgenden auch geschehen.

Um die im vorletzten Absatz beschriebene These zu stützen, führt Wolz-Gottwald viele Belege aus den "klassischen" Texten an, insbesondere aus der *Carakasaṃhitā*. Diese scheinen auf den ersten Blick seine These auch zu stützen. Bei näherer Betrachtung sieht die Angelegenheit allerdings anders aus; es wird einem sehr bald klar, daß viele dieser Belege schon aus grammatischen und/oder semantischen Gründen unmöglich das aussagen können, was von ihnen behauptet wird. Außerdem zeichnet sich die gesamte Untersuchung durch einen doch ziemlich sorglosen Umgang mit z.T. sehr wichtigen Begriffen aus, deren Bedeutungen ohne erschöpfende und detaillierte Studien, oft sogar nur auf Grund von Angaben nicht kritisch untersuchter Sekundärliteratur oder ad hoc festgelegt werden; dabei treffen sich auch eine nicht immer präzise und den eigentlichen Aussagegehalt des Gesagten genug bedenkende, oft durch Unklarheit in Bezug auf das Gemeinte gekenneichnete Ausdrucksweise und eine eher intuitiv arbeitende Methodik, die allzu oft Verschiedenartiges einfach vermengt. Man merkt auch, daß der Autor zwar in der allgemeinen Sekundärliteratur bewandert, im Bereich der eigentlichen klassischen Indologie (insbesondere der Sanskritphilologie, die ja den Grundpfeiler dieser Untersuchung bildet) doch mit erheblichen Problemen zu kämpfen hat;[10] auch seine Vorstellungen vom Wesen der "klassischen" indischen Medizin bieten immer

[10] Wird eine Textstelle übersetzt, so ist die Übersetzung selten genau, sehr oft sogar schlicht falsch oder unmöglich. So wird beispielsweise mit Bezug auf *A[ṣṭāṅgahṛdaya]*, Sū[trasthāna] 12,64 auf S.27 behauptet, 'daß es zum Beispiel für den āyurvedischen Arzt nur sekundär ist, einen Namen der Krankheit zu wissen. Er muß die Symptome der Krankheit beachten, alle genauen Umstände und Zusammenhänge erkennen und daraus Schlüsse auf die Herkunft der Krankheit ziehen'. Man fragt sich, warum sich dann die Texte so viel Mühe gerade mit der namentlichen Klassifizierung von Krankheiten machen. In der Tat sagt *A*, Sū 12,64 nur, ein Arzt solle sich nicht schämen, wenn er eine Krankheit nicht mit einem Namen belegen könne, da nicht bei allen Krankheiten Gewißheit in Bezug auf den Namen herrsche — eine ziemlich andersartige Aussage. Und aus *Suśrutasaṃhitā*,Sū 6,8 und 21,8 kann man mitnichten ableiten, die Humores Wind, Schleim und Galle entsprächen den Naturkräften Wind, Mond und Sonne und stünden dadurch 'im großen Zusammenhang des Kosmos' (S.143). Sū 6,8 sagt nur: 'Der Mond näßt, die Sonne ferner trocknet die Erde aus. Auf allen diesen beiden beruhend/Alle diese beiden zusammenfügend/Sich mit allen diesen beiden zusammenfügend (*tāv ubhāv api saṃśritya*) (be)hütet (*pālayati*) der Wind die Lebewesen (*prajā-*)'; es geht hier um eine Beschreibung der Jahreszeiten. Und aus 21,8 erfahren wir lediglich, daß die drei Humores den Körper in der gleichen Weise erhalten (*dhārayanti*), in der Mond, Sonne und Wind dies bei der (belebten) Welt (*jagat-*) tun, was nur ein Vergleich ist; man kann diesen Vergleich zwar im Sinne einer engeren Verbindung der Verglichenen interpretieren (im Sinne einer Entsprechung von Makro- und Mikrokosmos; vgl. unten, S.176), doch dadurch entfernt man sich letztendlich vom eigentlichen Wortlaut. Nun finden sich in den "klassischen" Texten in der Tat Aussagen, die Wolz-Gottwalds These einer engeren Verbindung der Humores und der Naturkräfte stützen könnten, doch die angeführten zählen nicht dazu. Dies sind indes relativ harmlose Beispiele, die deshalb ausgewählt wurden, weil sie an sich für die zentrale These Wolz-Gottwalds nicht von Belang sind und daher im gegebenen Rahmen dieser Rezension keine eigene eingehende, lange Diskussion erfordern. Hingewiesen sei auch auf die Vorderseite des Werkumschlages, auf dem in Nāgarī-Schrift *āyu* geschrieben steht (ohne *ḥ* oder *s* am Wortende), was zwar eine neuindoarische, aber eben nicht die richtige Sanskritform dieses doch im gegebenen Zusammenhang zentralen Begriffes ist.

wieder Anlaß zu Verwunderung.[11] Diese methodischen Mängel der Arbeit werden die nachfolgenden Beispiele verdeutlichen.

Schon die Verwendung der Termini 'rational' und 'magisch-religiös' ist äußerst problematisch. Offenbar werden sie als gegensätzlich angesehen, was impliziert, daß 'magisch-religiös' eben nicht 'rational', d.h. 'irrational' ist.[12] Aber die verwendeten Ausdrücke werden weder präzise definiert noch in Bezug auf die Zulässigkeit ihrer Anwendung im gegebenen Kontext umfassend untersucht, sondern kommentarlos verwendet, wie z.B. in den folgenden Zitaten: 'Es muß festgestellt werden, daß neben der auf rationalen Theorien begründeten Körpermedizin eine magisch-religiöse, von rituellen Handlungen bestimmte Therapie das Bild des Āyurveda mitbestimmt' (S.22); 'Eine der großen Neuerungen des Āyurveda war es vor 2000 Jahren, die Medizin auf eine rationale Grundlage gestellt zu haben. Die Ärzte setzten sich damals in weiten Bereichen von einem von Schamanismus[13] und Magie geprägten Heilen der vor-āyurvedischen Zeit ab. Man ver-

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[11] So wüßte man z.B. sehr gern, worauf er seine hier apodiktisch erscheinende Aussage stützt, die 'desolate Situation der āyurvedischen Anatomie' lag nur daran, daß für die Ärzte der Körper des Menschen nicht eine 'Maschine', 'die aus verschiedenen Einzelteilen besteht' darstellte, sondern 'ein lebendiger Organismus' war. Wir erfahren lediglich, daß die 'biologische Wirklichkeit' 'andere Erfassungskriterien' verlangt, 'als sie in der physikalischen Dimension üblich sind', weshalb die Anatomie kaum von Bedeutung war, denn, da der Körper ja als 'Ganzheit' wahrgenommen wurde, 'die aus mehr als der Summe ihrer Teile besteht', aus der Sicht des Arztes ja stets das Ganze betroffen war und nicht 'ein einzelnes Organ', woraus man dann offenbar schließen muß, daß eine genaue Kenntnis dieser einzelnen Organe (d.h. Anatomie) unwichtig war. Daß die zweifellos vorhandene "ganzheitliche" Sichtweise der altindischen Medizin zu solchen Schlußfolgerungen führen kann, ist zwar interessant, doch eher aus der Sicht des Studiums moderner Apologetik, denn für die Stimmigkeit der gerade dargelegten These für die "klassische" Medizin selbst finden sich keinerlei Beweise — man muß im Gegenteil ein äußerst reges Interesse an eben der von Wolz-Gottwald als unwichtig angesehenen genauen Kenntnis einzelner Organe konstatieren. Warum die Anatomie *trotz* dieses Interesses der Texte so kümmerlich entwickelt war, ist ein komplexes Problem, für das es mehrere Erklärungsversuche gibt; ich möchte hier besonders aufmerksam machen auf I. Fišer und O. Fišerova, 'Dissection in Ancient India,' *History and Culture of Ancient India (For the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists) / Istorija i kul'tura drevnej Indii (k XXVI Meždunarodnomu kongressu vostokovedov)*, hrsg. von W. Ruben, V. Struve, G. Bongard-Levin / V. Ruben, V.V. Struve, G.M. Bongard-Levin, Moskva 1963, 306-328, und Kenneth G. Zysk, 'The Evolution of Anatomical Knowledge in Ancient India, with Special Reference to Cross-cultural Influences', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106, 1986, 687-705. Auch zu Wolz-Gottwalds These von einem 'Bedeutungswandel der Lehre' der drei Humores (gemäß Wolz-Gottwald ursprünglich 'Lebensfunktionen'), wonach später 'einseitig auf die Materialität der doṣas Wert gelegt' wurde mit dem Resultat, daß 'Das am ehesten auf ein Funktionsprinzip hinweisende vāta/ Wind' 'durch die Flüssigkeit śoṇita/ Blut ersetzt' wurde, was ein eindeutiger Beleg für einen 'Wechsel zu einer Humoralpathologie, zu einer Lehre der Körperflüssigkeiten' sei (S.35f.), hätte man gern mehr Beweise gehabt als seine bloße Behauptung (zu Blut als *doṣa-* s. G.J. Meulenbeld, 'Conformities and Divergences of Basic Āyurvedic Concepts in Veterinary Texts', *JEĀS*, 1, 1990, 1-6, G.J. Meulenbeld, 'The constraints of theory in the evolution of nosological classifications: A study on the position of blood in Indian medicine (Āyurveda)', *Medical Literature from India, Sri Lanka and Tibet*, hrsg. von G.J. Meulenbeld (= *Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. VIII*), Leiden u.a. 1991, 91-106).

[12] Vgl. auch den oben auf S.159 zitierten Satz: 'Er zeigt einen dritten Weg jenseits von Rationalität und Irrationalität.'

[13] S.60: 'Der Schamane war der erste indische Arzt.' In vielen neueren Publikationen wird — oft ziemlich salopp — behauptet, ein Wesensmerkmal der vedischen Arier, insbesondere im Bereich ihrer Medizin, sei eine Art von Schamanismus gewesen. Nun ist es schwer, den Schamanismus zufriedenstellend gleichzeitig präzise und alle seine verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen berücksichtigend zu definieren, doch

suchte, nicht nur die Krankheiten und ihre Therapie rational zu analysieren und zu erklären, auch die Methodik der Wissensfindung wurde beleuchtet' (S.25).

Die von Wolz-Gottwald unberücksichtigten Probleme, die solche und ähnliche Aussagen verursachen, sind ausführlich in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 27, 1984, 232-244 diskutiert worden;[14] eine nochmalige *eingehende* Erörterung an dieser Stelle erübrigt sich daher.[15] Was Wolz-Gottwald als 'magisch-religiös' bezeichnet, ist eine Handlungsweise, die im magischen Weltbild wurzelt, in dem eine Unterscheidung zwischen "religiös" und "nichtreligiös" (also "sakral" und "profan") aber bedeutungslos ist. Es ist ein Weltbild, das auf der Balance von Mächten beruht, wobei alles (also auch für uns Abstraktes) eine Macht ist. In seiner Logik der Kausalität ist dieses System ein vollkommen "aus der Ratio stammendes", d.h. "rationales" System.[16] Wenn gewisse Handlungen vollzogen werden, um etwas zu bewirken, dann deshalb, weil dadurch in einer Kausalitätskette Mächte in Bewegung gesetzt oder gehemmt werden (wobei man nicht unbedingt an ein Erzwingen von Handlungen denken muß, da die Mächte ja auch von sich aus handeln können, d.h. ggf. auf Bitten o.dgl. reagieren).

Was uns an diesem System so fremd ('irrational') vorkommt, ist das Axiom, das *alles* eine prinzipiell handlungsfähige Macht ist, die auch andere Mächte durchdringen kann. Unser heutiges Denken basiert dagegen unter anderem auf dem Axiom, daß dies *nicht* der Fall sei. Das ändert aber nichts daran, daß beide Systeme auf Grund ihrer verschiedenartigen Axiome deduktiv oder induktiv zum gleichen Ergebnis führen können. So wäre nach der Logik des magischen Weltbildes jemand, der nach dem Aufsuchen der Toilette seine Hände nicht gewaschen und dann nach dem Verzehr von Speisen krank geworden sei, deshalb krank geworden, weil durch das Unterlassen des Händewaschens

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ein gemäß allen Darstellungen übereinstimmendes Element scheint die im Trance stattfindene Verbindung mit sich der unmittelbaren Wahrnehmung entziehenden Wesen (was auch Verstorbene mit einschließt) zu sein, entweder dadurch, daß sich die Seele (auch ein problematischer Begriff) des Schamanen von seinem Körper löst und mit diesen Wesen Verbindung aufnimmt, oder aber dadurch, daß diese Wesen Eintritt in den Körper des Schamanen finden. Man erwartet eigentlich von denen, die für die vedische Zeit einen Schamanismus annehmen, daß sie erst einmal nachwiesen, daß derartige Praktiken in dieser Zeit tatsächlich vorhanden waren (was allerdings schwer fallen dürfte, insbesondere dann, wenn man berücksichtigt, daß es zur Annahme, der Schamanismus sei ein *wesentliches* Merkmal jener Zeit gewesen, nicht genügen würde, einfach hier und da ein paar Beispiele aufzuspüren — was an sich schon nicht leicht sein dürfte —; es müßte nachgewiesen werden, daß der Schamanismus — wie z.B. bei den Mongolen — eine zentrale Rolle gespielt hat). Auch Wolz-Gottwald beweist seine Behauptung nicht.

[14] Diese Schrift enthält allerdings hier und da einige unreflektierte Schlußfolgerungen oder gar Fehler in Bezug auf Einzelheiten medizinischer Theorien, so. z.B. zum weiblichen *śukra-* auf S.243[29]. Es sei auch hervorgehoben, daß es in op.cit. vor allem um den *Versuch* einer zusammenfassenden Charakterisierung des magischen Weltbildes geht, der sich zudem auf die genannte Materie bezieht und keinen Anspruch auf *universelle* Gültigkeit erhebt.

[15] Vgl. auch die Besprechung des Werkes von S.J. Tambiah in dieser Ausgabe.

[16] Auf S.61 gesteht auch Wolz-Gottwald dies ein: 'Aber auch die magische und damit irrationale Heilkunst wurde in ein rationales Gesamtschema integriert. Auch die magisch-religiöse Therapie war an der Rationalität des Ursache-Wirkungs-Prinzips orientiert. Sah man eine Krankheit durch eine natürliche Ursache entstanden, so war die mit natürlichen Heilverfahren (Medikamente, Ernährung, Lebensführung usw.) arbeitende rationale Medizin zuständig. Wurde der Ursprung der Krankheit jedoch als übernatürlich beurteilt, war die magisch-religiöse Therapie angezeigt.'

die Macht, die die entsprechende Krankheit ist, befähigt wurde, in die Person einzudringen und sich als Krankheit in ihr zu manifestieren. Der Hinweis auf Bakterien oder Viren wäre kein Problem, denn dem könnte leicht entgegengehalten werden, daß entweder die Macht dann eben dazu verleitet wurde, erst diese und dann mittelbar durch diese die Person zu durchdringen, oder aber daß diese Bakterien oder Viren ohnehin ständig von der Macht durchdrungen und daher mit dieser identisch seien. Es fällt sehr schwer, diese Art der Argumentation einfach als "falsch" oder "irrational" abzutun.[17]

Warum das Unterlassen des Händewaschens im magischen Weltbild diese Wirkung haben sollte, muß nicht unbedingt klar sein; es ist eine "Wahrheit", die sich immer wieder bewahrheitet hat. Allerdings bedeutet dies nicht, daß es keinen Grund für diese Wahrheit gäbe, doch das ist eine andere Sache. Folgte man der Logik, wie wir sie besonders in den Brāhmaṇa-Texten finden, so würde derjenige, der hinter das Geheimnis dieser Wahrheit käme, durch dieses bloße Wissen (das auch eine Macht ist) alle anderen Mächte dergestalt manipulieren können, indem er auf deren Aktionen automatisch eine entsprechende Reaktion hervorriefe, daß er letztendlich ungestraft seine Hände nicht mehr zu waschen bräuchte. Doch hinter solche Geheimnisse können nur die allerwenigsten kommen, weshalb man sich in der Regel an das Händewaschen wird halten müssen. Nichtsdestotrotz kann das richtige Wissen um derartige Geheimnisse einen davon befreien, bestimmte Handlungen durchführen zu müssen. Genau diesen Prozeß kann man in der Entwicklung der Āraṇyakas und schließlich der Upaniṣaden aus den Brāhmaṇas sehen. Die Upaniṣaden sind ja nicht eine Sammlung von Weisheiten, die mehr oder weniger aus dem Nichts intuitiv aus der Meditation gewonnen wurden, sondern fußen in der Opferwissenschaft der Brāhmaṇas,[18] die die Hintergründe (Geheimnisse) der Opferhandlungen zu ermitteln trachtet; die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse aber lassen das Opfer selbst nach der oben beschriebenen Logik immer unwichtiger werden, bis es letztlich völlig unnütz wird — allerdings nur für den Wissenden. Dies führt aber letztendlich dazu, daß die Denkrichtung andere Bahnen einschlagen kann.[19]

Man kann daher nicht einfach unser Weltbild zugrunde legend annehmen, daß es in einem von dieser Denkweise durchdrungenen medizinischen System prinzipiell einen Unterschied zwischen Therapien mit Medikamenten u.dgl. und mit Ritualen u.dgl. der-

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[17] So macht es sich auch J. Filliozat zu leicht, wenn er schreibt: 'En tous lieux et en tous temps, lorsqu'on rapporte la production d'un phénomène morbide à l'action d'une vertu merveilleuse, on recourt à une explication magique; quand on se représente rationnellement la production du même phénomène comme le résultat d'une combinaison d'actions naturelles, on fait de la médecine scientifique' (*Magie et médecine*, Paris 1943, 26). Eine Argumentationsart, die von anderen als den uns gängigen Axiomen ausgeht (wobei sie sich besonders gern der Analogie bedient), aber dennoch streng logisch ist, lebt auch heute noch in Südasien fort, besonders bei der dörflichen Bevölkerung. Forscher, die sich mit der sogenannten "Little Tradition" befassen, stoßen immer wieder auf sie und sind verblüfft, wie schwer es ihnen fällt, die Überlegenheit und "Richtigkeit" ihrer eigenen Denkweise, die unserer "westlichen" entspricht, zur Geltung zu bringen. Viele Beispiele (aus Bengalen) für diese m.W. von der Forschung bisher kaum beachtete Argumentationsart im heutigen Südasien finden sich in dem äußerst informativen bengalischen Werk *Gabhīr nirjan pathe* des Völkerkundlers Sudhīr Cakrabartī (Kal¹kātā 1989).

[18] Die einheimische Tradition sieht hier nicht umsonst eine ununterbrochene Verbindung bestehen.

[19] Dieser Prozeß läßt sich vielleicht am besten an Hand des *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* und der *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* verfolgen. Wolz-Gottwald, der öfter auf die 'Mystik' der Upaniṣaden zu sprechen kommt, ist diese Entwicklung (wie vieles im vedischen Bereich) offenbar nicht bekannt.

gestalt gäbe, wie Wolz-Gottwald ihn macht. Wahrscheinlich schon in indogermanischer Zeit gab es die Unterscheidung zwischen Heilen durch das Wort, Heilen durch Pflanzen und Heilen durch das Messer, in der Reihenfolge absteigender Effektivität — alle als Teile des gleichen Systems.[20] Die Effektivität erklärt sich höchstwahrscheinlich aus der Art der Manipulation, die der Arzt (den wir hier kaum von dem "Priester" werden unterscheiden können) vornimmt; in allen Fällen werden Mächte manipuliert, doch am stärksten wirkt sich dies im Falle des Wortes aus[21] — was diese Art der Manipulation auch zur gefährlichsten macht, sollte sie nicht richtig unternommen werden. Aus den gleichen Gründen ist auch das "Gegenwirken" gegen eine nicht unmittelbar wahrnehmbare Macht die in magischer Hinsicht schwierigste, die auch die stärksten Gegenmittel verlangt. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt ist es auch begreiflich, daß das, was Wolz-Gottwald 'magisch-religiöse Therapie' nennt, gerade bei Krankheiten, die in seiner Sicht 'übernatürliche' Ursachen haben,[22] angewandt wird.[23]

Wenn Wolz-Gottwald auf S.60 schreibt, 'Zeugnisse dieser magisch-religiösen Therapeuten sind vor allem im Atharva-Veda zu finden ...', und dabei einen Unterschied zu 'rationalen' Therapeuten macht, so scheint er auch in Hinblick auf die 'Medizin' der Saṃhitāzeit von Vorstellungen auszugehen, die der Beleglage nicht gerecht werden. Überhaupt wird in der einschlägigen Literatur nur selten gebührend hervorgehoben, daß wir über das tatsächliche medizinische Wissen der Saṃhitāzeit so gut wie nichts wissen. Was wir haben, sind Verse, die offenbar gewisse medizinische Handlungen begleiteten; diese Handlungen bleiben aber unbekannt oder bisweilen nur vage angedeutet (wir haben nur erheblich spätere, im großen und ganzen recht spärliche Erklärungen, von denen nicht bekannt ist, ob und wie zuverlässig sie sind). Und über andere eventuell verbreitete medizinische Handlungen, die vielleicht nicht von solchen Sprüchen begleitet wurden oder aber deren Begleitsprüche nicht überliefert sind, können wir überhaupt nichts sagen. So können wir weder ausschließen noch bestätigen, daß das medizinische Wissen jener Zeit sehr viel geringer und anders als das in den "klassischen" Werken des Āyurveda dargelegte war, wobei das āyurvedische System eine Weiterentwicklung darstellen könnte, eventuell mit Akzentverschiebung in Bezug auf die Wichtigkeit der verschiedenen Therapiemöglichkeiten. Doch kommen wir hier letztlich in den Bereich der Spekulation. Es muß aber dennoch nochmals hervorgehoben werden, daß das magische Weltbild jedenfalls das, was Wolz-Gottwald 'rationale' Medizin nennt, prinzipiell nicht ausschließt. Der oft konstatierte Bruch zwischen vedischer und späterer Medizin bleibt bei derartiger Betrachtung eine unbewiesene Behauptung, die zutreffen könnte — oder eben auch nicht.

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[20] S. *IIJ*, 27, 1984 (op.cit. auf S.163), 235.

[21] Auch ein Messer ist letztendlich eine Macht, doch keine, die in der Regel selbst aktiv wird, wenn sie auch prinzipiell dazu imstande wäre. Pflanzen, deren "Lebendigkeit" augenfälliger ist, sind schon potenter, doch am stärksten sind in diesem Weltbild offenbar jene Mächte, die unsichtbar agieren — vorstellungsgemäß ist ihrer Handlungsweise durch den Augenschein keine Grenze gesetzt.

[22] Zu den Krankheitsursachen s. auch unten, S.167.

[23] Wobei wir immer wieder der verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der Einflußnahme (Erzwingung, aber auch Erbitten von Handeln) eingedenk sein müssen.

Gleichwohl gewinnt man bei der Lektüre der "klassischen" medizinischen Werke den Eindruck, daß ihr Weltbild wenn nicht ganz, so doch in weiten Bereichen dasjenige sein könnte, das wir in Ermangelung eines besseren Ausdrucks in Anlehnung an Wolz-Gottwald 'rational' nennen könnten (wodurch dann aber nicht impliziert werden soll, daß das magische Weltbild 'irrational' im absoluten Sinne ist, d.h. durch die Ratio nicht erfaßbar, 'unvernünftig'; 'rational' besagt hier nur, daß der logische Gedankenablauf *unserer Denkweise* entspricht, also *aus unserer Sicht* rational ist, da er auf uns vertrauten Grundsätzen aufbaut). Das impliziert, daß ein Axiomwechsel stattgefunden hat, der Arzt es nicht mehr mit Mächten, sondern nur mit Sachen oder Lebewesen zu tun hat. Streng genommen kann man die Stimmigkeit dieser Annahme für die "klassische" Medizin überhaupt aber an Hand des Belegmaterials nicht beweisen, wenn auch hier und da gewisse Aussagen für sein Vorhandensein zu sprechen scheinen;[24] Eindrücke sind keine konkreten Beweise. Doch begeben wir uns hier in einen komplexen Bereich, der im Rahmen einer Rezension nicht ausführlich behandelt werden kann.[25] Auch müssen wir uns die Frage stellen, ob und in welcher Weise unsere Klassifikationen für die damalige medizinische Praxis wirklich von Relevanz sind, denn praktisch macht es doch keinen Unterschied, aus welchem Grunde ein Arzt beispielsweise eine bestimmte Pflanze oder einen bestimmten Mineralstoff verwendet oder einen bestimmten Spruch aufsagt, wenn das Resultat gleich bleibt. Und was Krankheitsursachen betrifft, so kann die aus unserer heutigen Sicht gemachte Unterscheidung zwischen natürlichen und übernatürlichen Ur-

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[24] Man vergleiche in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Klassifizierung von Pflanzen als Lebewesen bzw. Nichtlebewesen; s. Rahul Peter Das (Hrsg.), *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda*, Stuttgart 1988, 269f.

[25] Erwähnt sei hier auch der Hinweis von Arion Roşu (*Les conceptions psychologiques dans les textes médicaux indiens*, Paris 1978, 82f.) auf die Aussage Dārilas in seinem Kommentar zum *Kauśikasūtra*: Krankheiten, die durch Nahrung (*āhāra-*) entstehen, fallen in den Bereich des Āyurveda, solche, die durch Ungünstiges (*aśubha-*) bzw. *adharma-* entstehen, fallen in den Bereich des Śāstras, zu dem der kommentierte Text gehört, d.h. letztendlich den Bereich des Atharvaveda. Indes werden in der *Atharvavedasaṃhitā* alle möglichen Krankheiten erwähnt, darunter auch solche, die gemäß den "klassischen" medizinischen Werken durchaus (auch) durch die Nahrung erzeugt werden können, was eine solche Trennung äußerst problematisch macht. Wir geraten hier zudem in den Bereich der nachvedischen einheimischen Beurteilung des Atharvaveda, die ein eigenes Problem darstellt und nicht notwendigerweise zutreffend ist; zu diesem Problem s. z.B. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Darmstadt ^{5}1970, 475ff., Enric Aguilar i Matas, *Ṛgvedic Society*, Leiden u.a. 1991, 10^{40} (wobei die Thesen besonders des letzten Werkes nicht unproblematisch sind). Hinzu kommt, daß der Atharvaveda überaus oft gerade mit *sinisteren* Handlungen oder aber Gegenhandlungen zu solchen Handlungen (vgl. z.B. Aruṇadatta in seinem Kommentar zu *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*,Nidānasthāna 2,44) in Verbindung gebracht wird. Auf jeden Fall wird man Dārilas Klassifizierung nicht ohne weiteres als für die indische Medizin überhaupt gültig anerkennen können, ohne sie genauestens untersucht zu haben. Doch auch dann, wenn Dārilas Einteilung tatsächlich uneingeschränkt gültig sein sollte, wäre *adharma-* doch wohl nicht das gleiche wie das von Wolz-Gottwald ins Feld geführte Übernatürliche (Nicht-Rationale) (s. den nächsten Absatz), wobei noch das Verhältnis zwischen *aśubha-* und *adharma-* in Dārilas Kommentar zu klären wäre. Gemäß A. Wezler ('On Two Medical Verses in the Yuktidīpikā', *JEĀS*, 1, 1990, 127-148; s. S.144^{95}) handelt es sich zudem wegen der Parallelität zum von ihm untersuchten *Yuktidīpikā*-Vers auch bei Dārilas Einteilung um die Unterscheidung zwischen heilbaren und unheilbaren Krankheiten; zwar bedarf es eventuell noch eingehenderer Studien, um in Bezug auf Dārilas Aussage letzte Gewißheit zu erlangen (s. auch unten, S.182, sowie Wezler, S.147), doch zeigt Wezlers Erklärung deutlich, daß wir es hier womöglich mit ganz anderen Unterscheidungen zu tun haben als der zwischen 'rational' und 'nicht-rational/irrational'. Auf jeden Fall wird ersichtlich, mit welchen Problemen der Forscher in diesem Bereich konfrontiert wird. Vgl. auch die Angaben zur Nahrung in Anm.68.

sachen (bzw. Verursachern) selbst im Zusammenhang eines 'rationalen' Weltbildes irrelevant sein, z.B. wenn für uns übernatürliche (d.h. letztendlich aus unserer Sicht: nicht faktisch vorhandene) Wesen als durchaus existent, doch lediglich nicht ohne weiteres wahrnehmbar angesehen werden, wie das ja in den "klassischen" medizinischen Werken auch zweifellos der Fall ist. Folglich können auch die mit solchen Wesen verbundenen Handlungen (Opfer, Gebete usw.) durchaus 'rational' sein, auch wenn dies aus unserer heutigen Sicht nicht der Fall sein sollte. Man darf zudem nicht übersehen, daß auch in einem 'rationalen' Weltbild Kausalitätsketten, die sich unserer unmittelbaren Wahrnehmung (auch mit apparativer Hilfe) entziehen, durchaus einen Platz haben können. Schließlich müssen wir uns immer wieder vor Augen halten, daß die gleiche Krankheit auch gemäß den "klassischen" Texten verschiedene Ursachen haben kann: eine aus *unserer* Sicht 'rationale' und eine aus dieser Sicht 'nicht-rationale'.

Wenn also Wolz-Gottwald wiederholt auf *Ca[rakasaṃhitā]*, Sū[trasthāna] 11,54 hinweist,[26] wo zur Erklärung von *daivavyapāśraya-* Therapie Sprüche, Amulette u.dgl. und von *yuktivyapāśraya-* Therapie Diät und Medikamente angeführt werden,[27] und daraus ableitet, daß hier von 'magisch-religiöser' und 'rationaler' Therapie die Rede sei, so ist die Sache nicht so einfach, wie es auf den ersten Blick erscheinen mag.[28] Was bedeutet

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[26] *trividham auṣadham iti daivavyapāśrayaṃ yuktivyapāśrayaṃ sattvāvajayaś ca. tatra daivavyapāśrayaṃ mantrauṣadhimaṇimaṅgalabalyupahārahomaniyamaprāyaścittopavāsasvastyayanapraṇipātagamanādi,yuktivyapāśrayaṃ punar āhārauṣadhadravyāṇāṃ yojanā. sattvāvajayaḥ punar ahitebhyo 'rthebhyo manonigrahaḥ.*

[27] Zur dritten hier erwähnten Therapieart (*sattvāvajaya-*) s. unten.

[28] Anscheinend ohne Kenntnis der Problematik (vgl. z.B. *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*,Khilasthāna 3,24ab: *tasmād āganturogaṇāṃ paśyanti nijavat kriyāḥ*), wird von Wolz-Gottwald — einfach so — auf S.23f. zwischen dieser Einteilung in drei Therapiearten und der in 11,45 erwähnten dreifachen Einteilung von Krankheiten (in *nija-*, *āgantu-* und *mānasa-*) eine Verbindung hergestellt, sogar in der Form eines detaillierten Bezugsschemas, das *nija-* Krankheiten mit der (seiner Terminologie gemäß) 'rationalen', *āgantu-* Krankheiten mit der 'magisch-religiösen' und *mānasa-* Krankheiten mit allen drei Therapiformen verbindet, was dann zu weitreichenden Schlußfolgerungen führt. Da er auch 11,46f. als Belege für diese beim Fehlen konkreter Belege offenbar nur intuitiv nachvollziehbare Verbindung angibt, gewinnt man den Eindruck, er habe *traya-* und *trivarga-* in 46 bzw. 47, die sich auf die ausdrücklich erwähnte Dreiheit von *dharma-*, *artha-* und *kāma-* beziehen (so übrigens auch der Kommentator Cakrapāṇidatta) eventuell nicht richtig verstanden, wogegen aber S.141 spricht, wo er 11,46 ausdrücklich in eben einem solchen Zusammenhang erwähnt (vgl. Anm.67), allerdings ohne daß daraus ein Grund für die Erwähnung dieser Stelle in Zusammenhang mit der Einteilung der Krankheiten ersichtlich würde. Dahingegen sagt Sū 1,58, die in 1,57 erwähnten drei Humores des Körpers (1,57: *śārīra-*) würden durch Heilmittel zur Ruhe gebracht, die *daivayuktivyapāśraya-* seien, während die Humores (*doṣa-* in 1,57) des Geistes (1,57f.: *mānasa-*), nämlich (gemäß 1,57) *rajas-* und *tamas-*, durch Wissen (?) (*jñāna-*), Erkenntnis/Einsicht (?) (*vijñāna-*), Festigkeit/Standhaftigkeit/Ruhe (*dhairya-*), Erinnerung (*smṛti-*) und Sich-Sammeln/Konzentration (oder: Einkehr?) (*samādhi-*) zur Ruhe gebracht würden:

vāyuḥ pittaṃ kaphaś coktaḥ śārīro doṣasaṅgrahaḥ
mānasaḥ punar uddiṣṭo rajaś ca tama eva ca (57)
praśāmyaty auṣadhaiḥ pūrvo daivayuktivyapāśrayaiḥ
mānaso jñānavijñānadhairyasmṛtisamādhibhiḥ (58).

Daß es hier um Beruhigung [von in Wallung Geratenem] geht (1,58: *praśāmyati*, bezogen auf *pūrvaḥ*, d.h. *śārīro doṣasaṅgrahaḥ* in 1,57, und *mānaso [doṣasaṅgrahaḥ]*) und *samādhi-* in bezug auf *mānasa-* als Mittel hierzu angegeben wird, also an dieser Stelle erst einmal in dieser Hinsicht untersucht werden muß, hat Wolz-Gottwald (S.101ff.) allerdings übersehen; daher entschließt er sich auch nach einiger Abwägung (unter Bezugnahme auf Yoga-Philosophie und meditativer Versenkung; die Zulässigkeit der Bezugnahme wird nicht erörtert) hier 'eine Erweiterung des Bewußtseins' zu sehen, 'die gerade durch eine Lösung von der Ge-

yukti- hier? Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat hat unlängst[29] darauf hingewiesen, daß *yukti-* in *Ca* in mehreren Bedeutungen vorzukommen scheint. Aber auch wenn man meinen sollte, *yuktivyapāśraya-* sei hier mit 'rational' wiederzugeben (*yukti-* wäre dann 'Ratio; Argumentation' o.dgl.), so müßte man doch untersuchen, ob 'rational' in der Bedeutung 'vernünftig' (Gegensatz: 'unvernünftig') oder 'der Ratio zugänglich', d.h. '[mit den uns zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln in seiner Wirkungsweise] durchschaubar' (Gegensatz dann: 'nicht durchschaubar') zu verstehen wäre.[30] Aber was ist, wenn *yukti-* hier einfach '(passende) Anwendung (evtl. auch: Mittel?)' bedeuten sollte (in Bezug auf eine Therapie, die im unmittelbaren Einflußbereich des Arztes steht)? In der Explikation von Sū 11,54 selbst wird ja schließlich *yojanā-* 'Anwendung' verwendet.[31] Nun könnte man einwenden, dies sei ja die Erklärung nicht von *yukti-* selbst, sondern von *yuktivyapāśraya-* ('das, dessen Basis *yukti-* ist'). Indes wird in unserem Sprachgebrauch 'Heilbehandlung, die in der Anwendung von X besteht/auf der Anwendung von X basiert' im gleichen Sinne benutzt wie 'Anwendung von X' oder gar einfach 'X',[32] sollte dies auch für die altindische medizinische Terminologie zutreffen, so bestünde in Bezug auf das tatsächlich Gemeinte nicht notwendigerweise ein Unterschied zwischen *yukti-* und *yuktivyapāśraya-*, und das würde nicht nur zur Aussage in Anm.38 passen, sondern auch zu *Ca*, Sū 26,31, wo *yukti-* als *yojanā-* definiert wird, die passend/richtig ist (*yujyate*: *yuktiś ca yojanā yā tu yujyate*), wobei der Kommentar Cakrapāṇidattas *yojanā-* mit 'richtige/passende Anfertigung/Anwendung von Medizin mit Rücksicht auf die Humores usw.' erklärt (*yojanā doṣādyapekṣayā bheṣajasya samīcīnakalpanā*).[33] Ist *yukti-* in 11,54 also vielleicht ein ähnlicher oder gar der gleiche spezielle Terminus technicus wie an den zuletzt erwähnten Stellen, was implizieren würde, daß *daiva-* auch ein ähnlicher Terminus

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bundenheit an die Welt zu einem intensiveren Leben in der Welt führt', dessen Ziel 'eine bewußte Welterfahrung, ein intensiveres, in sich stimmiges Leben' sei (S.103) (eine *Untersuchung* der Bedeutung der Termini *jñāna-* usw. — insbesondere *samādhi-* — an der angegebenen Stelle wird nicht einmal angestrebt).

[29] '*Yukti*, le quatrième *pramāṇa* des médecins (Carakasaṃhitā, Sūtrasthāna XI, 25)', *JEĀS*, 1, 1990, 33-46; s. S.37f.

[30] Diese Überlegungen basieren auf den geläufigen lexikalischen Bedeutungsangaben von 'rational'; da Wolz-Gottwald den von ihm benutzten Terminus nicht anders definiert, muß man wohl annehmen, er verwendet ihn in diesem Sinne. Auf S.220 redet er allerdings von einem — nicht näher beschriebenen — heutigen 'einseitigen Verständnis von Wissenschaft und Rationalität', dem er folglich offenbar ein anderes Verständnis entgegenhalten möchte, doch wie 'Rationalität' in diesem Kontext verstanden werden soll, wird nicht gesagt (vgl. hierzu auch die Bemerkungen zu seiner Ausdrucksweise oben auf S.161).

[31] *yuktivyapāśrayaṃ punar āhārauṣadhadravyāṇāṃ yojanā 'yuktivyapāśraya-* wiederum ist die Anwendung von Nahrung, medizinischen Substanzen usw.'.

[32] Beispielsweise in: 'er verordnete eine auf der Anwendung von Antibiotika basierende Therapie', 'er verordnete die Anwendung von Antibiotika' und 'er verordnete Antibiotika'.

[33] *yuktiś cetyādau yojanā doṣādyapekṣayā bheṣajasya samīcīnakalpanā. ata evoktaṃ yā tu yujyate. yā kalpanā yaugikī bhavati sā tu yuktir ucyate. ayaugikī tu kalpanāpi satī yuktir nocyate putro 'putravat. yuktiś ceyaṃ saṃyogaparimāṇasaṃskārādyantargatāpy atyupayuktatvāt pṛthag ucyate.*

technicus ist, dessen Bedeutung an dieser Stelle dann allerdings noch zu ermitteln wäre (s. z.B. Anm.38)?[34]

Natürlich ist es prinzipiell möglich, daß solche Überlegungen völlig in die Irre führen, doch wie soll man dies feststellen, wenn man es schlicht unterläßt, sie anzustellen, wie Wolz-Gottwald es tut? Hinzu kommt, daß er bei seiner Beschreibung der 'magisch-religiösen Therapie' verschiedene begriffliche Kategorien vermengt. So schreibt er auf S.60f.: 'Die göttliche (daiva) Therapie zeigt Möglichkeiten auf, wie Krankheiten, die nicht rational zu erklären sind, behandelt werden können (CaS, 4.6.27). ... Man versteht hierunter all jenes therapeutische Handeln, das auf das Übernatürliche bezogen ist.' Dieses Handeln besteht für Wolz-Gottwald eindeutig aus 'magisch-religiösen' Handlungen. Sehen wir von dem mit dem Begriff des 'Übernatürlichen' verbundenen Problem ab (s. den vorletzten Absatz), so fällt auf, daß hier Krankheits*ursache* und Krankheits*therapie* vermengt werden; die eine mag in manchem Falle die andere bedingen,[35] doch daraus folgt nicht automatisch, daß ein ursächlicher Zusammehang bestehen *muß*. Noch schlimmer wird diese Begriffsvermengung dadurch, daß auf S.60f. als wichtigste 'über-

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[34] Man könnte u.a. auch an Therapieformen denken, die der Arzt zwar in die Wege leiten kann, deren Wirkung sich aber seinem unmittelbaren Einflußbereich entzieht; das muß kein Gegensatz zu 'rational' sein. Oder aber man könnte an Therapieformen denken, die nicht die drei Humores des Körpers, sondern die zwei des Geistes betreffen (s. Anm.28). In diesem Zusammenhang s. auch Vimānasthāna 8,87, dem gemäß die *yuktivyapāśraya-* Therapie u.a. aus Handlungen besteht, deren Resultat sichtbar ist (*ceṣṭāś ca dṛṣṭaphalāḥ*), was zu implizieren scheint, daß dies bei der *daivavyapāśraya-* Therapie eben nicht der Fall ist. Indes ist das Verhältnis dieser Passage zu Sū 11,54 unklar; vgl. unten, S.170.

[35] Auch beim Versuch, eine solche Verbindung aufzuzeigen, unterläuft Wolz-Gottwald mancher Fehler. So sagt die von ihm oben angeführte Stelle *Ca*, Śā 6,27 nur, daß es Krankheiten gibt, 'deren Ursache der Zorn der Götter usw. ist' (*devādiprakopanimitta-*); von einer Therapie o.dgl. ist hier keine Rede (*āptopadeśād adbhutarūpadarśanāt samutthānaliṅgacikitsitaviśeṣāc cādoṣaprakopānurūpā devādiprakopanimittā vikārāḥ samupalabhyante*). In 25f. wird sogar gesagt, Nahrung und Pflege (*āhāropacārau*) seien verantwortlich für Gedeihen oder Tod — *des soeben geborenen Säuglings*, um den es auch in 27 geht; wenn man schon eine im Text nicht erwähnte Therapie mit Krankheitsursachen verbindet, so müßte man doch wohl auch diese beiden Ursachen berücksichtigen. Indes ist 27 höchstwahrscheinlich (wie auch der Kommentator Cakrapāṇidatta meint) die Antwort auf die in 6,20 gestellte Frage, ob der Säugling (auch) durch den Zorn der Götter usw. krank werden könne (*kiṃ cāsya devādiprakopanimittā vikārāḥ sambhavanty āhosvin na*)! In Ni[dānasthāna] 1,30 finden wir zwar *abhiṣaṅga-*, *abhicāra-* und *śāpa-*, d.h. gemäß Wolz-Gottwalds Terminologie 'übernatürliche' Ursachen für Fieber (*jvara-*) angegeben, doch sagt 1,31, von ihm nicht erwähnt, daß das so verursachte Fieber durch 'gemeinsame/gleiche' Heilbehandlung zu kurieren ist (*karmaṇā sādhāraṇena copacaryate*, v.l.: *copakramyaḥ* und *copakramyate*) — sollte dies bedeuten, daß dieses Fieber genau wie alle anderen Fieberarten zu behandeln sei (Cakrapāṇidatta ad l.c.: *sādhāraṇeneti daivayuktivyapāśrayeṇa*), so stünde die Stelle im Widerspruch zu Ci[kitsāsthāna] 3,318, wo gesagt wird, daß die Heilmittel für durch *śāpa-*, *abhicāra-* usw. entstandenes Fieber *daivavyapāśraya-* seien (*daivavyapāśrayaṃ tatra sarvam auṣadham iṣyate*); andererseits wird an dieser Stelle durch *abhighāta-* verursachtes Fieber anders behandelt, und zwar durch das, was Wolz-Gottwald 'rationale' Therapie nennt, während in Ni 1,30 kein Unterschied zwischen diesem und durch *śāpa-* usw. verursachtem Fieber gemacht wird, die allesamt *āgantu-* genannt werden. Wolz-Gottwald erwähnt auch *Ca*, Sū 11,54, *Su[śrutasaṃhitā]*, Sū 6,20, *A[ṣṭāṅgahṛdaya]*, Uttarasthāna 5,1 und *A*, Ci 1,175 als Belege für die Verbindung von 'unnatürliche' Ursachen habendem Fieber mit 'magisch-religiöser' Therapie. Außer dem letzten handelt jedoch keiner dieser Belege von Fieber, wobei *A*, Ci 1,175 aber nur besagt, daß der vom Fieber Befreite nicht sofort alles essen solle; es handelt sich wohl um einen Druckfehler für 1,165, wo indes *daivāśraya-* Heilmittel (*bhaiṣajya-*) für *alle* Fieberarten angewandt werden, wie in *Ca*, Ci 3,312 (das auch Wolz-Gottwald erwähnt). *Su*, Sū 6,20 handelt von Seuchenkrankheiten, die aber auch 'natürliche' Ursachen haben können (6,19 werden Gerüche der Blüten von Giftpflanzen erwähnt).

natürliche' Krankheitsursache Handlungen in früheren Leben angesehen werden, deren Folgen man durch die 'magisch-religiöse' Therapie entgegenwirken könne. Hier wird nicht zwischen von fremden Einflüssen verursachten und durch eigene, wenn auch frühere Handlungen verursachten Krankheiten unterschieden, und man findet auch keine Auseinandersetzung mit der z.B. von Arion Roşu (op.cit. in Anm.25, S.90) vertretenen These, daß 'Outre les prescriptions de piété, plusieurs principes d'hygiène[36] permettent de défataliser le *karman* et d'empêcher la décrépitude' (ähnlich auch S.217). Eventuell hat Wolz-Gottwald sich hier von der geläufigen Bedeutung 'Schicksal; Vorbestimmtheit (ggf. durch eigene Handlungen verursacht)' von *daiva-* leiten lassen, die z.B. auch in *Ca*, Vi[mānasthāna] 3,30 vorliegt,[37] ohne zu berücksichtigen, daß *daiva-* in *daivavyapāśraya-* u.dgl. eine ganz andere Bedeutung haben könnte; doch wie dem auch sei, wir finden uns hier plötzlich im Bereich einer ganz anderen Klassifikation, die eher derjenigen von Dārila in Anm.25 entspricht (vgl. auch Anm.38).

Auch muß hervorgehoben werden, daß Wolz-Gottwald den Geltungsbereich der Aussage von *Ca*, Sū 11,54 in Bezug auf die Unterscheidung von nach seinem Verständnis 'rationaler' und 'magisch-religiöser' Therapie in unzulässiger Weise auf die "klassische" Medizin überhaupt ausdehnt, indem er nur den Geltungsbereich der dritten Therapieart im wesentlichen auf einige Teile von *Ca* eingeschränkt sieht; für die anderen zwei Arten gilt seiner Auffassung gemäß diese Einschränkung offenbar nicht.

Hinzu kommt ein terminologisches Problem, das Wolz-Gottwald überhaupt nicht berücksichtigt hat. In *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*,Indriyasthāna 1,3f. wird zwischen *oṣadha-* und *bheṣaja-* als zwei Arten von *cikitsā-* unterschieden; der erste Terminus bezeichnet Medikamente/Drogen u.dgl., der zweite das, was Wolz-Gottwald 'magisch-religiöse' Therapie nennt.[38] Nun benutzt *Ca* in Sū 1,58 (s. Anm.28) und 11,54 (s. den letzten Absatz) *auṣadha-*, in Vi 8,87 (s. Anm. 34) dagegen *bheṣaja-* zur Bezeichnung sowohl der *yuktivyapāśraya-* als auch der *daivavyapāśraya-* Therapie (in Sū 11,54 auch von *sattvāvajaya-*), während in Ci[kitsāsthāna] 3,318 (s. Anm.35) *daivavyapāśraya-* mit *auṣadha-* verbunden wird (vgl. dagegen l.c. *daivāśraya-* und *bhaiṣajya-* in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Ci 1,165); sollte man nicht erst einmal diese Terminologie genauestens untersuchen, bevor man weitreichende Behauptungen aufstellt?

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[36] Also 'rationale' Therapie, gemäß der Terminologie Wolz-Gottwalds!

[37] *daivam ātmakṛtaṃ vidyāt karma yat paurvadaihikam.*

[38] Aus 5 geht noch hervor, daß man den Patienten als unheilbar aufgeben soll, wenn *beide* nicht zur Besserung führen. Der volle Wortlaut von 3-5:

oṣadhaṃ bheṣajaṃ proktaṃ dviprakāraṃ cikitsitam
tayor viśeṣaṃ vakṣyāmi bheṣajauṣadhayor dvayoḥ
oṣadhaṃ dravyasaṃyogaṃ bruvate dīpanādikam
hutavratatapodānaṃ śāntikarma ca bheṣajam
ubhayaṃ tad yadā jantoḥ kṛtaṃ na kurute guṇam
kṣīṇāyur iti sañjñātvā (v.l.: *taṃ jñātvā*) *na cikitsed vicakṣaṇaḥ.*

Dagegen heißt es in Khilasthāna 3,26:

oṣadhaṃ yuktyadhiṣṭhānaṃ daivādhiṣṭhānam eva ca
yuktir vamanakarmādi daivaṃ yāgādi kīrtyate.

Man beachte auch, daß *yukti-* hier als 'Handlung des (d.h. zur Herbeiführung des) Vomitus usw.' definiert wird, *daiva-* als 'Opfer usw.'.

So bleibt die Unterscheidung, die Wolz-Gottwald zwischen 'rational' und 'magisch-religiös' vornimmt, äußerst problematisch.[39] Das wirft dann die berechtigte Frage auf, ob es um seine dritte Kategorie, der 'spirituell-philosophischen', besser steht. Es ist nicht zu leugnen, daß in *Ca*, Sū 11,54 als dritte Therapieart *sattvāvajaya-* 'Besiegung des Geistes/Charakters', d.h. 'Selbstdisziplin' genannt wird. Doch kann man deshalb gleich schon von einer 'spirituellen Philosophie' sprechen? Die Explizierung des Textes selbst spricht lediglich vom 'Zurückhalten des Geistes von ungünstigen (nicht dem Wohle dienenden) Dingen' (*ahitebhyo 'rthebhyo manonigrahaḥ*). Natürlich kann nicht kategorisch ausgeschlossen werden, daß es hier um 'spirituelle' Werte geht, doch in einem medizinischen Kontext würde man doch wohl eher an Ratschläge denken, wie sie auch in der höchst "materialistischen" westlichen Allopathie geläufig sind. Wenn ein moderner westlicher Arzt seinem Patienten etwa rät, Zornesausbrüche zu vermeiden, alles gelassener zu sehen, die Gier nach Alkohol, Zigaretten, fettem Essen u.dgl. unter Kontrolle zu halten usw., dann würden wir doch wohl auch nicht von 'philosophischer Psychotherapie'[40] reden. Bedenkt man also den Kontext, in dem Sū 11,54 erscheint, so wäre es an Wolz-Gottwald zu zeigen, daß diese Auffassung der obigen Aussage, die sich im gegebenen Kontext fast von selbst anbietet, *nicht* zutreffen kann oder zumindest unwahrscheinlich ist bzw. daß seine Auffassung wahrscheinlicher ist.[41] Dabei muß natürlich eine seriöse Arbeitsmethodik zugrunde gelegt werden; einfach einen Vers aus der Bhagavadgītā (!) zu zitieren mit der Bemerkung, er 'könnte jedoch eine Interpretationshilfe sein', und aus diesem Vers, der in einem bestimmten Kontext Selbstkontrolle predigt, dann einfach abzuleiten, die *Ca*-Stelle würde ein selbstbestimmtes Handeln durch eine Öffnung des Selbsts empfehlen, um die 'Fremdbestimmung' durch die Umwelt zu überwinden (S.104f.), ist methodologisch nicht zu rechtfertigen.[42] Noch problematischer wird es, wenn man Vi 8,87 betrachtet, wo nur von *zwei* Therapieformen die Rede ist, nämlich

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[39] Ich muß zugeben, auch selbst in einer früheren Arbeit diese Problematik nicht genug bedacht zu haben; s. A. Eser, M. von Lutterotti, P. Sporken (Hrsg.), *Lexikon Medizin Ethik Recht*, Freiburg/Basel/Wien 1989, Sp.919 (unten).

[40] Zur Terminologie Wolz-Gottwalds vgl. oben, S.160.

[41] Dabei genügt auch der eventuelle Hinweis auf eine andere "mögliche Deutung" nicht, da bestimmt auch andere "mögliche Deutungen" denkbar wären, die das gleiche Recht auf Zutreffendsein für sich beanspruchen könnten. *Mutatis mutandis* gilt auch hier das, was P. Thieme ('The Comparative Method for Reconstruction in Linguistics', *Language in Culture and Society. A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, hrsg. von Dell Hymes, New York u.a. ^{2}1964, 585-598) in Bezug auf die 'prehistoric reconstruction' sagt: 'All prehistoric reconstruction is of course purely hypothetical, that is, it is based on conjectural assumptions. Strictly speaking, any conjectural assumption is a guess. This can, however, not be inverted: it is not true that every guess is a scientific hypothesis. A scientific guess must serve the specific purpose of explaining the nature and mutual relation of observed facts. Its value is in strict correlation, first, to the accuracy of the factual observation and, second, to its being demonstrably evident that there is no other guess that would serve this purpose better or just as well' (S.585). Natürlich kann man sich auch auf den Standpunkt stellen, daß Intuition oder eine anderen nicht gegebene höhere Einsicht eine nachvollziehbare, methodisch einwandfreie Beweisführung unnötig macht, doch dann kann keine Diskussion mehr stattfinden, da es sich dann de facto um Glaubenssätze handelt, bei denen man nur noch die Wahl hat, sie so zu akzeptieren, oder auch nicht.

[42] Fragen nach der Relevanz, den möglicherweise verschiedenen Inhalten und/oder Kontexten, der Zulässigkeit des Vergleichs usw. werden nicht einmal gestellt. Woher soll der Leser wissen, ob Wolz-Gottwald nicht einfach Äpfel mit Birnen vergleicht?

yuktivyapāśraya- und *daivavyapāśraya-*; dies hat den Kommentator Cakrapāṇidatta offenbar irritiert, denn er schreibt, daß die erste Therapieform *sattvāvajaya-* subsumiere, worauf aber die *Ca*-Passage selbst keinerlei Hinweis gibt.[43]

Problematisch ist auch die von Wolz-Gottwald angeführte Stelle *Ca*, Śā[rīrasthāna] 1,94. Auch in der 'besten/vollkommensten Heilbehandlung' (*cikitsā ... naiṣṭhikī*), die hier erwähnt wird, sieht er die 'philosophische Psychotherapie'. Nun sagt der relevante Teil von 1,94 wörtlich, nachdem zuvor die Notwendigkeit des Einleitens von Gegenmaßnahmen schon beim Auftreten von Prodromen und die präventive Förderung von dem Wohlbefinden Dienlichem gelehrt wurde: *cikitsā tu naiṣṭhikī yā vinopadhām* 'die beste/vollkommenste Heilbehandlung aber ist [die], welche ohne *upadhā-* ist'. Wolz-Gottwald übersetzt mit: 'Die höchste Therapie ist aber die, welche zur Beseitigung des "Ergreifens" (upadhā) führt' (S.113) und merkt dazu an (S.114): 'Mit der Haltung des "Ergreifens" ist — wie schon erklärt — jenes gebundene, an den Dingen haftende und dadurch fremdbestimmte Bewußtsein gemeint. Die "Beseitigung" dieses "Ergreifens" ist die Aufgabe der philosophischen Psychotherapie'. Aus einem früheren Aufsatz Wolz-Gottwalds[44] erfahren wir, wie er zu dieser doch sehr erklärungsbedürftigen Bedeutungsangabe kommt: '[Surendranath] Dasgupta wendet sich gegen die Sichtweise des bedeutendsten Kommentators der Caraka-Saṃhitâ, Cakrapâṇi, der upadhâ als "Begierde-tṛṣṇâ"[45] interpretiert. Er befürchtet, daß in dieser Weise jedes positive Verhältnis zur Welt negiert würde und schlägt eine Übersetzung mit "graspening — Ergreifen" vor. ... Diese Übersetzung scheint durchaus sinnvoll, ohne das [sic] mit der Integration der Welt der metaphysische Aspekt negiert werden müßte.' Hier wird also eine ad hoc mit vorgefaßter Meinung gelieferte Übersetzung von Wolz-Gottwald kritiklos angenommen, weil sie seiner schon feststehenden Meinung entgegenkommt. Weitergehende Untersuchungen zur Begriffsbestimmung unterbleiben einfach, und warum die geläufige Bedeutung 'Täuschung, Betrug' von *upadhā-* nicht einmal erwogen wird, wird nirgends erwähnt.

In Śā 1,95 wird der Begriff *upadhā-* wie folgt erläutert: 'Die *upadhā-* nämlich ist die äußerste (d.h. wohl: Haupt-[46]), Leid und die Basis von Leid (bzw.: und das, dessen Basis Leid ist)[47] bewirkende Ursache (d.h. die äußerste Ursache von Leid und auch der Grundlage des Leids bzw. auch dessen, was auf Leid basiert). Und das Aufgeben aller

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[43] Roşu, op.cit. in Anm.25, S.104 ist sich offenbar sehr wohl der mit der *Ca*-Stelle verbundenen Problematik bewußt, scheint aber dennoch Cakrapāṇidattas Erklärung ohne nähere Prüfung zu akzeptieren.

[44] Eckard Wolz-Gottwald, Jürgen Schmitt, 'Ein Konzept von Gesundheit und Krankheit der traditionellen indischen Medizin Âyurveda. Ein Interpretationsversuch von Caraka-Saṃhitâ 4.1.86-156', *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 70, 1986, 18-26; s. S.21[13].

[45] Ausschlaggebend für Cakrapāṇidattas Bedeutungsangabe (*tṛṣṇā-*) ist wahrscheinlich *tṛṣṇā-* in 1,96 (s. Anm.48). Doch aus 1,96 folgt nicht zwingend, daß *tṛṣṇā-* und *upadhā-* hier gleichbedeutend sind; insbesondere 1,98ff. (s.u.) könnten als Beweis für das Gegenteil angeführt werden. Ohnehin ist Cakrapāṇidattas Erklärung von 1,94ff. ihrerseits auch erklärungsbedürftig.

[46] So auch Cakrapāṇidatta: *paro hetur iti mūlakāraṇam*.

[47] *duḥkhāśraya-* kann sowohl 'Basis von Leid' als auch 'das, dessen Basis Leid ist' sein; Cakrapāṇidatta erklärt es in seinem Kommentar als *śarīra-* 'Körper'.

upadhā-s ist alles Leid forttreibend.'[48] Damit wissen wir aber immer noch nicht, was *upadhā*- eigentlich ist. Eine philologische Untersuchung, die alle anderen eventuell in diesem Text vorhandenen Belege von *upadhā*- mit einbezieht, wird hier vielleicht Klarheit verschaffen können.[49] Im Rahmen einer Besprechung kann eine solche Untersuchung natürlich nicht durchgeführt werden; es geht ja nur darum, das, was Wolz-Gottwald vorträgt, in Hinblick auf seine Stimmigkeit zu untersuchen.

Nun sagt *Ca*, Śā 1,98, direkt im Anschluß an die *upadhā*- betreffenden Textpassagen, daß die Ursachen von Leid wie folgt sind: Schwund/Verfall/Störung von Verstand, Aufnahmevermögen und Erinnerungsvermögen (*dhīdhṛtismṛtivibhraṃśaḥ*), Erlangung von [festgesetzter] Zeit und *karman*-[50] (*samprāptiḥ kālakarmaṇām*), das Herantreten an/Auftreten von unzuträglichen Dingen (*asātmyārthāgamaḥ*). Diese werden danach auch ausführlich charakterisiert. Man hätte doch nun erwartet, daß Wolz-Gottwald diese Passagen in Hinblick auf etwaige in ihnen enthaltene, für die Ermittlung der Bedeutung von *upadhā*- relevante Aussagen untersucht hätte. Aber auch für die Charakterisierung eines anderen von ihm immer wieder ins Spiel gebrachten Ausdrucks wäre eine eingehende Untersuchung wichtig gewesen. Es handelt sich um den Terminus *prajñāparādha*-, den er mit 'Fehler des Bewußtseins' wiedergibt (so zuerst auf S.83). Der 'Fehler des Bewußtseins' spielt bei Wolz-Gottwald eine bedeutende Rolle. Er ist das 'krankmachende Bewußtsein' (S.125). Durch ihn kann der Mensch 'nicht aus seinem Eigenen leben', da sein Bewußtsein getrübt ist (S.83). Er tritt auf 'durch mangelnde Verwurzelung im Selbst' (S.114), ist eine der drei zentralen Ursachen von Krankheiten (S.125), die wichtigste sogar, bestehend 'aus einer Verblendung und Labilität der Psyche' (S.126), usw. Nun gibt Wolz-Gottwald auf S.125 die für diesen Begriff besonders relevanten Textpassagen an; unter diesen befinden sich auch die Verse *Ca*, Śā 1,98-135. In diesem Passus wird der *prajñāparādha*- aber ganz anders beschrieben; es handelt sich um *Tätigkeiten*, die *die drei Humores in Wallung bringen*,[51] offenbar Handlungen, die die be-

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[48] Der volle Wortlaut von 1,95-97 ist;
upadhā hi paro hetur duḥkhaduḥkhāśrayapradaḥ
tyāgaḥ sarvopadhānāṃ ca sarvaduḥkhavyapohakaḥ.
koṣakāro yathā hy aṃśūn upādatte vadhapradān (v.l.: *vadhāvahān*)
upādatte tathārthebhyas tṛṣṇām ajñaḥ sadāturaḥ.
yas tv agnikalpān arthāñ jño jñātvā tebhyo nivartate
anārambhād asaṃyogāt taṃ duḥkhaṃ nopatiṣṭhate.

[49] Cakrapāṇidatta erklärt zwar die *Ca*-Passagen ausführlich, aber seine Erklärungen kann man natürlich nicht einfach übernehmen, ohne auch sie genaustens geprüft zu haben. Doch scheint Wolz-Gottwald sich ohnehin mit dem nicht leichten Kommentar so gut wie nicht befaßt zu haben. Ein zu keinem definitiven Abschluß führender Versuch, die Bedeutung von *upadhā*- in *Ca*, Śā 1 zu ermitteln, findet man auf S.57f. von: Antonella Comba, 'Carakasaṃhitā, Śārīrasthāna I and Vaiśeṣika philosophy', *Studies on Indian Medical History*, hrsg von G.J. Meulenbeld and D. Wujastyk, Groningen 1987, 43-61.

[50] Dieser Begriff könnte im gegebenen Kontext mehrere Bedeutungen haben, weshalb ich eine eindeutige Festlegung durch etwa die Übersetzung 'Handlung' vermeide.

[51] 102 sagt ausdrücklich:
dhīdhṛtismṛtivibhraṣṭaḥ karma yat kurute 'śubham
prajñāparādhaṃ taṃ vidyāt sarvadoṣaprakopaṇam.
Und in 108 lesen wir:
yac cānyad īdṛśaṃ karma rajomohasamutthitam

treffende Person ausführt, weil die genannten geistigen Fähigkeiten nicht so arbeiten, wie sie sollten[52] — zu diesen Handlungen gehört sogar (horribile dictu) der *übermäßige* Genuß von Frauen[53]! Nun ist zugegebenermaßen *prajñāparādha-* ein schwieriger Ausdruck (s. z.B. Anm.52), den mehrere andere Textstellen anders charakterisieren, doch diese Beschreibung untergräbt einen wichtigen Teil der These Wolz-Gottwalds so eindeutig, daß man doch eine eingehende Analyse und eine ausführliche Diskussion im Zusammenhang der anderen Belege erwartet hätte. Statt dessen steht auf S.128 nur lapidar: 'Der "Fehler des Bewußtseins" führt zu einem schädlichen Handeln, das an dieser Stelle mit dem Begriff selbst identifiziert wird. Die krankmachende Lebensführung bewirkt wiederum eine Schädigung der körperlichen Funktionen, der doṣas. Die Krankheit beginnt, sich zu manifestieren.' Die Beschreibung an dieser Stelle wird also ganz offenbar als sekundär abgetan, und zwar ohne jegliche Begründung (selbst ein Hinweis auf Cakrapāṇidattas Aussagen in Anm.52 fehlt).[54] An Hand welcher Argumente soll der Leser nun herausfinden, ob es sich tatsächlich so verhält, wie Wolz-Gottwald postuliert, ob es sich um verschiedene Erklärungstraditionen handelt oder ob die hier gegebene Erklärung von *prajñāparādha-* als Tätigkeit nicht eventuell doch die primäre ist?[55]

Auf S.114 schreibt Wolz-Gottwald in Anschluß an die bereits oben auf S.172 zitierte Passage: 'Aber warum steht sie[, die "Beseitigung" dieses "Ergreifens",] über den Therapieformen der rationalen Medizin? Warum wird sie als die "höchste Therapie" angesehen? Der folgende Vers gibt die Antwort: "Denn das "Ergreifen" ist die schlimmste Ursache des Leidens, den Ort des Leidens verursachend ..." (CaS, 4.1.95).' Und auf S.106

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prajñāparādhaṃ taṃ śiṣṭā bruvate vyādhikāraṇam (v.l.: *°kāriṇam*).
Dies wird in 127 auch von anderen der in 98 erwähnten Ursachen gesagt: *ity asātmyārthasaṃyogas trividho doṣakopanaḥ.*

[52] Auch die Wahrnehmung (o.ä.) auf Grund dieses fehlerhaften Arbeitens wird in diesem Passus anscheinend *prajñāparādha-* genannt, denn 109 sagt:
buddhyā viṣamavijñānaṃ viṣamaṃ ca pravartanam
prajñāparādhaṃ jānīyān manaso gocaraṃ hi tat
'Unpassende/Falsche Einsicht/Wahrnehmung des Verstands/Vernunftsinnes (oder: durch den Verstand/Vernunftsinn) und unpassendes/falsches Handeln erkenne/wisse man als *prajñāparādha-*. Das ist nämlich vom Geist Erreichbares/im Bereich des Geistes Liegendes (dem Geist Zugängliches?, mit dem Geist Verbundenes?, das, woran der Geist beteiligt ist?).' Wird hier eventuell *vijñāna-*, wie wohl *pravartana-*, als *karman-* angesehen? Jedenfalls scheint der Vers dem Kommentator Cakrapāṇidatta Schwierigkeiten bereitet zu haben, denn er schreibt: *viṣamavijñānaṃ svarūpata eva prajñāparādhaḥ. viṣamapravartanaṃ ca prajñāparādhakāryatvena prajñāparādhaśabdenocyate.* Offenbar sieht Cakrapāṇidatta in der ersten der obigen Angaben die Grundbedeutung von *prajñāparādha-*, was anscheinend auch den größten Teil der modernen Diskussion (s. hierzu bes. Roşu, op.cit. in Anm.25, S.108ff.) beeinflußt hat. Komplizierend wirkt, daß *pravartana-* gemäß den Wörterbüchern wenn auch selten, so doch auch die Bedeutung 'Anregen zum Handeln' haben soll.

[53] 103: *nārīṇāṃ cātisevanam.*

[54] Wie vorsichtig ist doch im Vergleich, was Roşu (op.cit. in Anm.25), S.110 schreibt: 'Il est bien difficile de cerner les limites de cette notion de *prajñāparādha*, aux implications très diverses et révélatrices des rapports du psychologique et de l'éthique'!

[55] Daß auch eine textkritische Untersuchung von *Ca*, Śā 1,109 im Verhältnis zu 1,102 und 1,108 fehlt, versteht sich fast von selbst.

heißt es: 'Die philosophische Interpretation hat schon gezeigt, daß "Kontrolle" in Einheit mit "Loslösung" oder "Loslassen" verstanden werden muß. Es geht um ein "Loslassen von allem Ergreifen (tyāgaḥ sarvopadhānām)" (CaS, 4.1.95). Was sagt in diesem Zusammenhang "Ergreifen"? Ergreifen meint eine bestimmte Haltung des Bewußtseins, eine Haltung des "Habens", des "Festhaltens". Beim "Ergreifen" handelt es sich letztendlich um ein "Ergriffen-werden" und "Verhaftet-sein". Der "Ergriffene" hat das Gefühl, er hätte "Eigentum" (svatā). Gerade hierdurch lebt er jedoch aus dem "Nicht-Eigenen" (asva) (CaS, 4.1.152-153). Gerade durch das Festhalten und Ergreifen wird die Psyche verdunkelt. Die Impulse aus dem Eigenen sind blockiert.'

Ca, Śā 1,152-153 sagt allerdings: 'Alles Leid ist mit einem Grund versehen, (oder: Alles mit einem Grund versehene Leid) ist fürwahr sowohl nicht eigen (d.h. wohl: nicht [eigentlich] dem Selbst zugehörig) als auch unbeständig. Und nicht ist dies ja vom eigenen Selbst gemacht. Und in Bezug hierauf entsteht die Eigenheit (d.h. wohl: [das falsche Gefühl der] Zugehörigkeit zum Selbst), solange nicht die wahre Einsicht entsteht, durch welche [man erkennt]: dies bin nicht ich. Der Wissende überwindet alles, indem er erkennt: "dies ist nicht mein".'[56] Das ist nicht das, was gemäß Wolz-Gottwald hier steht. Nichtsdestotrotz könnten diese Passage und die nachfolgenden durchaus als Belege für die Richtigkeit von Wolz-Gottwalds These fungieren, wäre da nicht die Tatsache, daß es gemäß 150-151 gar nicht um Therapie an sich, sondern um die Erlösung

[56] Im Originalwortlaut:
sarvaṃ kāraṇavad duḥkham asvaṃ cānityam eva ca
na cātmakṛtakaṃ tad dhi tatra cotpadyate svatā.
yāvan notpadyate satyā buddhir naitad ahaṃ yayā
naitan mameti vijñāya jñaḥ sarvam ativartate.
Man könnte auch überlegen, den ersten Satz zu übersetzen als: 'Alles Leid, das mit einem Grund[, der nicht im Selbst liegt,] versehen ist, ist sowohl ...'. Was den Kommentar Cakrapāṇidattas betrifft, so erklärt er *ātmakṛtam* als *ātmanodāsīnena kṛtam*, was möglicherweise implizieren könnte, daß seiner Auffassung gemäß Leid nur von dem Selbst nicht ausgeht, das [in Bezug auf alles Weltliche] unbeteiligt/gleichgültig (*udāsīna-*) ist, was implizieren würde, daß es ansonsten sehr wohl vom Selbst ausgeht. Das ist problematisch, da der Text von *Ca* keine derartige Einschränkung macht; allerdings handelt es sich nur um eine mögliche Auffassung von Cakrapāṇidattas Aussage, die auch so verstanden werden könnte, daß der *ātman-* prinzipiell unbeteiligt ist, was dann natürlich zu der Frage führt, was genau Cakrapāṇidatta unter *ātman-* versteht.

aus dem Kreislauf der Wiedergeburt geht.[57] Es ist natürlich denkbar, daß das letztere das erstere subsumiert, doch dies müßte auf jeden Fall schlüssig bewiesen werden.

Ähnlich verhält es sich anscheinend auch mit dem von Wolz-Gottwald häufig angeführten Kapitel *Ca*, Śā 5 (in dem u.a. gelehrt wird, das der menschliche Mikrokosmos dem Makrokosmos entspricht und diesen enthält); dafür spricht beispielsweise der Tenor des ganzen Kapitels, in dem Begriffe wie *brahman-*, *nirvāṇa-*, *mokṣa-* und *apavarga-* eine zentrale Rolle spielen. Man fragt sich, wie Wolz-Gottwald, der sich doch nachweislich sehr für die indische Philosophie interessiert und daher mit deren Terminologie bestens vertraut sein müßte, in seiner Suche nach einem medizinischen Bezug dies übersehen konnte. Dabei ist in dem gesamten Kapitel von einem medizinischen bzw. therapeutischen Bezug nichts zu spüren; in 5,12 werden sogar Weltentsagung und Waldasketentum ohne festen Wohnsitz als Weg zur Erlösung gelehrt. Oder ist Wolz-Gottwald eventuell der Ansicht, gerade dies sei eine Form von Therapie, etwa mit Bezug auf den *trivarga-*, der unten auf S.178 erwähnt wird? Dann hätte man doch zumindest eine diesbezügliche detaillierte Untersuchung der Stelle im Kontext erwartet, wie auch zu dem Problem der Wertung z.B. der gerade erwähnten Erlösungswege. Mehr noch: in 5,6 sagt Agniveśa zu Ātreya, was er über die Verbindung von Mikro- und Makrokosmos gelehrt habe, sei ja alles richtig, aber aus welchem Grunde lehre er dies denn überhaupt?[58] Man kann es zwar nicht als schlüssigen Beweis ansehen, gewinnt aber

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[57] Die Verse lassen darüber keinen Zweifel:
etat tad ekam ayanaṃ muktair mokṣasya darśitam
tattvasmṛtibalaṃ yena gatā na punarāgatāḥ.
ayanaṃ punar ākhyātam etad yogasya yogibhiḥ
saṅkhyātadharmaiḥ sāṅkhyaiś ca muktair mokṣasya cāyanam.
Der Bezug auf das Vorangegangene gilt mindestens ab 1,142, denn dort steht:
mokṣo rajastamo'bhāvāt balavatkarmasaṅkṣayāt
viyogaḥ sarvasaṃyogair apunarbhava ucyate.
Das Problem der Wiedergeburt im System der "klassischen" indischen Medizin ist äußerst komplex; Wolz-Gottwald ist es aber nur einige nebenbei eingestreute Sätze auf S.61f.;85, sowie eine rätselhafte Passage auf S.89 wert: 'Mokṣa bedeutet Befreiung, jenen Zustand geistiger Freiheit, der in der spirituellen Philosophie so bedeutsam ist. Ein vollkommener Wandel des Bewußtseins findet statt: [hier folgt eine Übersetzung von *Ca*, Śā 5,16]. Das Bewußtsein wird rein, klar und unverstellt. So allein ist wahre Erkenntnis erst möglich. Diesen Zustand versteht man als "Trennung von aller Gebundenheit (samyoga [sic])" und als "Abwesenheit von Wiedergeburt" (CaS, 4.1.142). Wenn auch die Befreiung von der Wiedergeburt in manchen Philosophenschulen die zentrale Rolle spielen mag, in der āyurvedischen Psychotherapie ist die erfahrene und gelebte Freiheit in dieser Welt wichtig. Die Psyche soll frei werden und damit rein von allen Bindungen an Emotionen und Denken, von jedem inneren Getriebensein und jeder Dumpfheit.' Begründet wird der angenommene Unterschied zwischen den 'Philosophenschulen' und der 'āyurvedischen Psychotherapie' nicht (da zudem Śā 5,16 erwähnt wird, vgl. auch den folgenden Absatz unten).

[58] *evam etat sarvam anapavādaṃ yathoktaṃ bhagavatā lokapuruṣayoḥ sāmānyam. kiṃ nv asya sāmānyopadeśasya prayojanam.* Ātreya antwortet, daß nur der, der in gleicher Weise/gleichzeitig den Makrokosmos im Mikrokosmos (dem Selbst) und den Mikrokosmos im Makrokosmos sehe, begreifen könne, daß die Ursache von Freud und Leid in ihm selbst sei. Die Erkenntnis, man sei alles, diene dem Erlangen des *apavarga-*: *sarvalokam ātmany ātmānaṃ ca sarvaloke samam anupaśyataḥ satyā buddhiḥ* (v.l.: *°tas tasyātmabuddhiḥ*) *samutpadyate. sarvalokaṃ hy ātmani paśyato bhavaty ātmaiva sukhaduḥkhayoḥ kartā nānya iti. karmātmakatvāc ca hetvādibhir yuktaḥ sarvaloko 'ham iti viditvā jñānaṃ pūrvam utthāpyate 'pavargāya.* Im weiteren Verlauf (besonders gegen Ende) des Kapitels wird dieser Gedanke dann weiter verfolgt. Man beachte, daß der hier vorgetragene Erlösungsgedanke im Widerspruch zu dem im letzten Absatz vorgetragenen zu stehen scheint; hier geht es um die Auflösung der Unterscheidung zwischen Mikro- und Makrokosmos und dadurch

doch den Eindruck, an dieser Textstelle solle gegen einen möglichen Einwand, es handele sich hier doch sozusagen um im medizinischen Kontext "Sachfremdes", Vorsorge getroffen werden.

Daß auch Wolz-Gottwald ähnlich empfunden haben muß, wird aus seiner Aussage auf S.157 klar: 'Aber schon bei Caraka wehrte man sich gegen diese Erweiterung[, nämlich die Einbeziehung der philosophischen Psychotherapie]. So heißt es an anderer Stelle, daß sowohl religiöse Opfer (yajña), als auch die Lehren von der geistigen Freiheit (mokṣa) nichts mit Āyurveda zu tun hätten. Āyurveda sei allein rationale Medizin (CaS, 3.8.54).' Zwar hat er die gemeinten Zeilen von *Ca*, Vi 8,54[59] gründlich mißverstanden, da es dort um völlig andere Inhalte geht, nämlich um die jeweilige besondere "fachliche" Verwendung von Termini in verschiedenen Wissenszweigen,[60] doch nichtsdestotrotz gesteht auch er das ein, was einem bei der Lektüre der verschiedenen von ihm zur Untermauerung seiner These angeführten Textstellen sofort in den Sinn kommt, nämlich daß hier der "klassischen" indischen Medizin eigentlich nicht Zugehöriges irgendwie (und letztendlich nach Ausweis der Texte erfolglos) mit ihr verbunden werden soll. Auch wenn wir annehmen sollten, es handele sich hier um 'ärztliches' Wissen, so werden wir nach den bisherigen Erörterungen wohl zugeben müssen, daß es nicht in den speziellen interpretatorischen Kontext Wolz-Gottwalds paßt, wir auf jeden Fall nicht ohne weiteres von medizinischer Therapie, erst recht nicht einfach von irgend einer besonderen 'Psychotherapie' werden sprechen können.

Ein weiteres anschauliches Beispiel für Wolz-Gottwalds Arbeitsmethodik ist seine Erklärung von *Ca*, Sū 11,46f. In 11,45 wird gesagt, daß *mānasa-* (geistige?, psychische?) Krankheiten durch das Erlangen sowohl des Gewünschten als auch des Ungewünschten entstehen;[61] der Commentator Cakrapāṇidatta gibt nicht nur Beispiele an,[62] sondern erwähnt auch, daß eine andere Lesart das Nichterlangen von Gewünschtem und das Erlangen von Ungewünschtem als Ursachen von *mānasa-* Krankheiten ansieht.[63] Gemäß 46 soll nun einer, der, auch wenn von einer *mānasa-* Krankheit befallen, klug ist, sich über Zuträgliches und Unzuträgliches im Lichte von *dharma-*, *artha-* und *kāma-*Gedanken machen und das Zuträgliche pflegen, das Unzuträgliche aber meiden, denn

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die Besiegung des Leids, das ja im Selbst liegt, während es dort um die Erkenntnis geht, daß Leid externe Ursachen hat und folglich überwunden werden kann, wenn man der wahren Natur des Selbst gewahr wird.

[59] Wo der *vākyadoṣa-* behandelt wird.

[60] Es werden Beispiele gegeben: im āyurvedischen Gebrauch 'vierfüßig' zur Bezeichnung der Medizin/ Heilkunde (*bheṣaja-*), die aus vier 'Füßen', d.h. Teilen besteht (gemeint sind wohl die bekannten 'Füße' Arzt, Patient, Heilmittel und Helfer/Pfleger), im opferwissenschaftlichen Gebrauch 'zu ergreifen/ empfangen' zur Bezeichnung der zu tötenden Opfertiere, im erlösungswissenschaftlichen Gebrauch 'alle Gewordenen' zur Bezeichnung aller Geschöpfe, denen *ahiṃsā-* zu gewähren ist (*samayaḥ punas tridhā bhavati. tathāyurvaidikasamayo yājñikasamayo mokṣaśāstrikasamayaś ceti. tatrāyurvaidikasamayaś catuṣpādaṃ bheṣajam iti. yājñikasamaya ālabhyā yajamānanaiḥ paśava iti. mokṣaśāstrikasamayaḥ sarvabhūteṣv ahiṃseti. tatra svasamayaviparītam ucyamānaṃ viruddhaṃ bhavati*).

[61] *mānasaḥ punar iṣṭasya lābhāl lābhāc cāniṣṭasyopajāyate.*

[62] Sexuelle Wonne usw. (*kāmaharṣādi-*) bzw. Trauer über den Verlust von Liebem/Lieben (*priyaviyoga-*) usw.

[63] *iṣṭasyālābhāl lābhāc cāniṣṭasya.*

auf der Welt entstehen keine *mānasa-* Freude und Leid ohne diese Dreiheit (d.h. losgelöst von *dharma-*, *artha-* und *kāma-*). Deshalb solle man sich zu denen begeben, die *tadvidya-* sind, gebührend in Bezug auf das Wissen über Selbst, Gegend/Ort (Umgebung), Sippe, Zeit, Macht und Kraft.[64] 47 sagt dann wiederholend, das *mānasa-* Heilmittel sei die Berücksichtigung der (obigen) Dreiheit, Umgang mit *tadvidya*-s und das Wissen über Selbst usw.[65] All dies besagt doch nichts anderes, als daß zur Vermeidung bzw. Bekämpfung einer *mānasa-* Krankheit man unter genauer Kenntnis der persönlichen Gegebenheiten (Persönlichkeit, Habitat, Abstammung, Konstitution usw.)[66] das pflegen sollte, was gut für einen ist, und meiden, was schlecht für einen ist — und zwar in *allen* Lebensbereichen (*artha-* und *kāma-* werden ausdrücklich erwähnt!), nicht nur im 'spirituellen'. Was *tadvidya-* betrifft, so scheint *tat* durch seine zweimalige Stellung fast unmittelbar hinter der 'Dreiheit' sich auf diese zu beziehen, d.h. *tadvidya-* wären solche, die über *dharma-*, *artha-* und *kāma-* (in Bezug für diese Zuträgliches und Unzuträgliches) Bescheid wissen. Cakrapāṇidatta erklärt *tadvidya-* allerdings als *mānasavyādhibheṣajavedin-* 'Heilmittel für *mānasa-* Krankheiten wissend', was problematisch ist, da es den unmittelbaren syntaktischen Bezug aufhebt, ohne zu erklären, warum dies so sein sollte. Doch selbst wenn Cakrapāṇidatta recht haben sollte, würde sich an der Aussage von 46f. nichts Wesentliches ändern, denn seine Erklärung würde die näherliegende Erklärung von *tadvidya-* nicht ausschließen, sondern subsumieren. Auf jeden Fall führen *traya-* und *trivarga-* (d.h. *dharma-*, *artha-* und *kāma-*) hier uns in einen komplexen

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[64] *tatra buddhimatā mānasavyādhiparītenāpi satā buddhyā hitāhitam avekṣya dharmārthakāmānām ahitānām anupasevane hitānāṃ copasevane prayatitavyam. na hy antareṇa loke trayam etan mānasaṃ kiñcin niṣpadyate sukhaṃ vā duḥkhaṃ vā. tasmād etac cānuṣṭheyaṃ tadvidyānāṃ* (v.l.: *tadvidyavṛddhānāṃ*) *copasevane prayatitavyam. ātmadeśakulakālabalaśaktijñāne yathāvac ceti.*

[65] *bhavati cātra.*
mānasaṃ prati bhaiṣajyaṃ trivargasyānvavekṣaṇam
tadvidyasevā vijñānam ātmādīnāṃ ca sarvaśaḥ.

[66] Vgl. auch Cakrapāṇidattas Kommentar zu Sū 7,53, wo *deśa-*, *kāla-* usw. nur im Hinblick auf das zu Vermeidende erläutert werden.

Bereich, mit dem eine *gründliche* Auseinandersetzung auch ansonsten[67] bei Wolz-Gottwald fehlt.[68]

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[67] Eine kurze Beschreibung der Bedeutung von *dharma-*, *artha-* und *kāma-* 'für die Gesundheit des Alltags' (S.140-142) ist hierfür kein Ersatz: Belege werden weder vollständig aufgelistet noch zuerst im jeweiligen Kontext getrennt und danach im Vergleich zueinander und zum restlichen Text erschöpfend untersucht; die jeweilige Bedeutung der einzelnen Termini wird zudem offenbar als evident angesehen. Es werden einfach mehrere Behauptungen aufgestellt, z.B.: 'Die drei Lebensziele dharma, artha und kāma erlangten in den rationalen Schulen des Āyurveda große Bedeutung. Sie wurden zum bestimmenden Faktor der āyurvedischen Ethik' (S.140); 'Wird das Erfüllen von dharma als Einhaltung von Geboten verstanden, hat es mit dem Ziel von geistiger Freiheit (mokṣa) als ganzheitlich verstandener psychischer Gesundheit nur wenig zu tun' (S.141); 'Desöfteren werden die drei Lebensziele trotzdem im Zusammenhang mit mokṣa genannt. Meist versteht man hierunter dann jedoch "Freiheit von der Welt", nicht "Freiheit in der Welt"' (S.141[56]) (die Bedeutungen des Wortes *mokṣa-* werden — man möchte fast schreiben: erwartungsgemäß — apodiktisch zugeteilt); 'Mit den Geboten des dharma sind demnach nicht nur rational begründete Regeln der Lebensführung beschrieben. Man versucht ebenfalls, sich Lohn für das Jenseits anzusparen. Die Ebene des Rationalen (yukti) wird anscheinend verlassen und das Übernatürliche, Göttliche (daiva) erschlossen. Man verbleibt jedoch wiederum in der Dimension des "Habens" und "Ergreifens"' (S.141). Vgl. auch Anm.28.

[68] Zum Versuch, den Stellenwert des *trivarga-* in der "klassischen" indischen Medizin zu bestimmen, s. S.586f. von A. Roşu, 'Études āyurvédiques. II. Déontologie médicale et orthodoxie brahmanique', *Sanskrit and World Culture. Proceedings of the Fourth World Sanskrit Conference of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies Weimar May 23-30, 1979*, hrsg. von W. Morgenroth, Berlin 1986, 586-594 (l.c. finden sich weitere bibliographische Hinweise). Es handelt sich hierbei um ein äußerst komplexes Problem, zu dem das letzte Wort bestimmt noch nicht gesprochen ist. Besonders hervorgehoben sei an dieser Stelle eine problematische Passage, die gleich gegen Anfang von *Ca* erscheint, nämlich Sū 1,15cd-16:

dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇām ārogyaṃ mūlam uttamam
rogās tasyāpahartāraḥ śreyaso jīvitasya ca
prādurbhūto manuṣyāṇām antarāyo mahān ayam.

Ganz abgesehen von Problemen wie z.B. ob etwa statt *prādurbhuto* eigentlich *prādurbhūtā* zu lesen sei (vgl. auch *teṣām* im folgenden Vers) und noch vor der Frage, in welcher Weise *ārogya-*, d.h. das Freisein von *roga-*s, die 'Wurzel' aller Bestandteile des *trivarga-* und auch von *mokṣa-* sein soll (zu beachten ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch 1,6, was uns aber in einen anderen Kontext führt als in den der 'philosophischen Psychotherapie'), ist schon die Bedeutung der hier verwendeten Termini problematisch — dies betrifft nicht nur z.B. *śreyas-* (vgl. auch Anm.80) und *mokṣa-* (vgl. z.B. oben, S.176), sondern sogar *roga-* und *ārogya-*, z.B. in ihrem Bezug auf *dharma-*. Hinzu kommt, daß auch das Verhältnis von 1,6-21 zum Rest des Kapitels zu klären ist, was u.a. auch von der Bedeutung von *ṛṣiprokto bharadvājaḥ* in 1,5 abhängt (ist *prokta-* hier einfach 'genannt', oder etwa 'angesprochen' bzw. 'unterrichtet'?; wie paßten letztere Bedeutungen zu 1,18cd-19?). Auch sei auf Cakrapāṇidattas Kommentar zu 1,23 aufmerksam gemacht: *atra cendreṇa divyadṛśā bharadvājābhiprāyam agrata eva buddhvāyurveda upadiṣṭaḥ. tena bharadvājasyendrapṛcchādīha na darśitam. kiṃvā bhūtam apīndrapṛcchādi granthavistarabhayād iha na likhitam*. Ist *indrapṛcchā-* 'Frage durch Indra' oder 'Frage an Indra'? Da 1,22 eine klare Frage Bharadvājas an Indra enthält, die Cakrapāṇidatta aber nicht erwähnt (auch 20 und 21 werden nicht kommentiert), könnte es ggf. sein, daß Cakrapāṇidatta 1,22 entweder nicht kannte, oder aber daß er in der dort formulierten Frage nicht das wiedergegeben fand, was er nach 15cd-17ab erwartete. Auf jeden Fall würde 1,23 gut direkt an 1,5 anschließen (wobei noch an den Anfang des *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* hingewiesen sei, wo Indra seine Unterweisung erteilt, ohne gefragt zu werden: *tān dṛṣṭvaiva sahasrākṣo nijagāda yathāgamam*), so daß eine textkritische Untersuchung des ersten Kapitels dringend erforderlich zu sein scheint, zumal die Überlieferung schon der Handschriften nach Ausweis unserer Editionen nicht klar ist. Dabei sei hervorgehoben, daß es sich hier nur um Probleme in Bezug auf *eine* Passage in *Ca* handelt; fast jede eventuell relevante andere Passage birgt potentiell ähnliche Probleme, die erörtert werden müssen, bevor man zu großangelegten Vergleichen übergehen kann. So sei zum Beispiel die Passage Sū 27,345-351 erwähnt, wo der *āhitāgni-* derjenige ist, der richtig in sein Verdauungsfeuer 'opfert'. Durch die richtige Nahrung erlangt er *brahman-* und *niḥśreyasa-* und bleibt sogar in einer eventuellen späteren Geburt frei von Krankheit; die Ausführungen des Texts gipfeln schließlich in der (anscheinend sehr "un-

Statt dessen meint er, ohne den vollen Wortlaut oder den Kontext zu beachten, auf S.151f., es gehe hier um denjenigen, 'der auf dem Weg zur Selbstfindung als höchster psychischer Gesundheit weiterkommen will'. Der *tadvidya-*, an den man sich wenden müsse, sei jemand, 'der das intuitive Wissen der Selbsterfahrung lebt'. All dies wird nicht begründet; ferner wird Cakrapāṇidattas Erklärung nicht nur kritiklos übernommen, sondern auch noch in den Kontext einer Erörterung darüber gestellt, ob die Texte etwa einen besonderen, vom Arzt verschiedenen 'philosophischen Psychotherapeuten' voraussetzen, der die 'philosophische Psychotherapie' lehrt. Am Ende seiner Überlegungen kommt Wolz-Gottwald zu dem Schluß, es handele sich 'um Menschen, die "tad-vidya" sind, die das intuitive Wissen über das Selbst besitzen und aus dem Selbst leben. ... Diese Eigenschaften kann theoretisch jeder aufweisen, der āyurvedische Arzt, auch ein von ihm unabhängiger Yogi oder ein spiritueller Philosoph. Die philosophische Psychotherapie wird nicht von einem bestimmten Berufsstand durchgeführt. Wichtig ist das Leben aus dem Selbst, die Verwirklichung ganzheitlicher psychischer Gesundheit'.

All dies wird gesagt ohne eine nähere Untersuchung von Sū 11,46f. Doch wird zur Charakterisierung dieser 'Therapeuten' immerhin hingewiesen auf die in Sū 7,58 und Sū 28,37 beschriebenen, gewisse Tugenden Besitzenden. In 7,56-59 geht es um die Eigenschaften von Personen, mit denen man nicht bzw. sehr wohl verkehren sollte. Da nun 7,55 sagt, zur Vermeidung und Bekämpfung von Krankheiten (*vikāra-*, unspezifiziert) würde u.a. *āptopadeśaprajñāna-* dienen, wird man in den Personen, mit denen man verkehren solle, wohl diese *āpta*-s sehen. In 7,51-53 wird die Vermeidung des *manovikāra-*, erzeugt durch *prajñāparādha-*[69], gelehrt. 7,54 sagt dann aber, dies sei der Weg zur Vermeidung von *āgantu-* Krankheiten;[70] bezieht sich dies nun auf das unmittelbar Vorausgegangene, oder auf das ganze Kapitel, in dem mehrere Mittel zur Vermeidung bzw. Bekämpfung von Krankheiten genannt werden? Von der Antwort hängt natürlich ab, was *āgantu-* hier bedeutet. Cakrapāṇidatta sagt nur: *āgantumānasaparihāre hetum āha*; meint er mit *āgantumānasa-* nun Krankheiten, die gleichzeitig *āgantu-* und *mānasa-* sind, oder nur *āgantu-* und *mānasa-* Krankheiten als getrennte Kategorien? Auf jeden Fall haben wir hier ein klassifikatorisches Problem, daß Wolz-Gottwald auch anderswo (vgl. Anm.28) nicht gesehen hat.[71] Will man nun 7,55-59 mit dem Vorangegangenen kombinieren, so muß man auch diese Probleme berücksichtigen; nimmt man dagegen keinen Zusammenhang an, so kann man schwerlich kommentarlos einen Bezug zu 11,46f. herstellen. Noch problematischer ist Sū 28,37. In 28,36-38 wird gesagt, die *parīkṣaka*-s

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spirituellen") Aussage (27,350cd-351ab):
laukikaṃ karma yad vṛttau svargatau yac ca vaidikam
karmāpavarge yac coktaṃ tac cāpy anne pratiṣṭhitam.

[69] Zu diesem schwierigen Terminus s. oben, S.173.

[70] *āgantūnām anutpattāv eṣa mārgo nidarśitaḥ.*

[71] Zur Problematik der Einteilung von Krankheiten vgl. auch Wezler, op.cit. in Anm.25, S.147, Roşu, op.cit. l.c., S.106ff. und S.66f. von S. Bahulkar, 'Atharvanic Element in the Ayurveda', *Essays in Science. Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. S. Mahdihassan*, hrsg. von Mohammed Said, Karachi 1987, 66-74.

würden nach *hita-* streben, die *laukika*-s[72] dagegen nur nach *priya-*; jene seien mit den auch von Wolz-Gottwald genannten Eigenschaften versehen, diese hingegen nicht, was zu *śārīra-* 'körperlichen' und *mānasa-* Krankheiten führe. Wolz-Gottwald sagt uns nicht, warum er gerade diese Stelle im obigen Zusammenhang zitiert.

Es findet sich aber auch noch ein Hinweis auf *Ca*, Ci 10,63, wozu gesagt wird: 'Auch bei der Behandlung der Krankheit "Neigung-zum-Nicht-Wesenhaften"[73] wurde, wie schon aufgezeigt, der philosophische Teil der Psychotherapie nicht vom Arzt selbst, sondern von Freunden, die Lehrer in religiösen und weltlichen Zusammenhängen waren, durchgeführt'. Daß Cakrapāṇidatta die ganze Passage Ci 10,54-63 als Einschub bezeichnet, der nur in Sindh und Kaschmir rezitiert werde,[74] ist Wolz-Gottwald keiner Erwähnung wert, obwohl dies doch ihren Verwendungswert in Bezug auf die "klassische" Medizin erheblich herabsetzt. Aber auch ansonsten projiziert er, vor allem in seiner längeren Behandlung der Passage auf S.134-137, in den Text Gedanken hinein, die so nicht ohne weiteres in ihm enthalten sein können. In 10,61-63 wird beschrieben, wie dem Patienten zuerst verschiedene körperliche Anwendungen und dann Medikamente verabreicht werden; zu den letzteren zählen auch solche, die Wolz-Gottwald schlicht 'Psychopharmaka' nennt, wobei aus *rasāyana-* gar 'die Psyche stärkende Mittel' werden; anscheinend hat dabei auch *medhya- 'medhā-* bewirkend' im Text mitgewirkt, obwohl es äußerst gewagt erscheint, *medhā-* 'Gedächtniskraft; Verstand(eskraft)' mit 'Psyche' wiederzugeben.[75] Unmittelbar danach spricht der Text vom 'Zusammenführen' des Patienten mit den Eigenschaften Erkenntnis/Einsicht (*vijñāna-*), Festigkeit/ Standhaftigkeit/Ruhe (*dhairya-*), Erinnerung (*smṛti-*) und Konzentration/Sich-Sammeln (oder: Einkehr?) (*samādhi-*). Diese Begriffe und ihr Aussagegehalt im Zusammenhang werden (wie auch oben in Anm.28) von Wolz-Gottwald nicht untersucht, sondern einfach mit der Meditationspraxis verbunden; auch wird ausführlich über die Hintergründe, Begleitumstände und Modalitäten der einzelnen Handlungen (körperliche Anwendungen, Darreichung von Medikamenten) in 61-63 berichtet, ohne das der Text selbst hierzu irgend welche Anhaltspunkte lieferte.[76]

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[72] Auch *parīkṣaka-* und *laukika-* sind schwierige Termini. Vgl. auch Cakrapāṇidattas Kommentar zu *Ca*, Sū 27,350f. (s. Anm.68): *laukikam ity aparīkṣakaloke bhavam. aparīkṣakā eva hi vartamānamātre pravartante. parīkṣakās tu janmāntaropakāriṇy eva.*

[73] Wolz-Gottwalds Übersetzung von *atattvābhiniveśa-*.

[74] *asmin pradeśe saindhavāḥ kāśmīrāś ca bhagavan ityādinātattvābhiniveśasya lakṣaṇacikitsāgranthaṃ paṭhanti. sa cānārṣa iti vṛddhāḥ.*

[75] Dabei sei vorerst ganz abgesehen von der Frage, ob *medhya-* nicht eventuell auch 'stärkend' oder 'rein' (von *medha-*) bedeuten könnte.

[76] Der Text sagt lediglich:
snehasvedopapannaṃ taṃ saṃśodhya vamanādibhiḥ
kṛtasaṃsarjanaṃ medhyair annapānair upācaret
brāhmīsvarasayuktaṃ yat pañcagavyam udāhṛtam
tat sevyaṃ śaṅkhapuṣpī ca yac ca medhyaṃ rasāyanam
suhṛdaś cānukūlās taṃ svāptā dharmārthavādinaḥ
saṃyojayeyur vijñānadhairyasmṛtisamādhibhiḥ (v.l. °ñānaṃ dhair°).
Ob *svāptā dharmārthavādinaḥ* eine Apposition zu *suhṛda anukūlāḥ* ist oder durch ein hinzugedachtes 'und' damit zu verbinden ist, ist nicht klar. Wolz-Gottwald übersetzt auf S.136 den letzten Vers mit: 'Und

Angesichts dieser Arbeitsmethodik muß die Stimmigkeit dessen, was Wolz-Gottwald in diesem Buch vorträgt, doch sehr angezweifelt, auf jeden Fall nicht ohne äußerst kritische Prüfung als gegeben angesehen werden. Dabei muß noch hervorgehoben werden, daß selbst die doch ziemlich ausführliche bisherige Diskussion nur einen kleinen Teil der vielen Unstimmigkeiten und schlichten Fehler aufzeigen konnte, die die Argumente Wolz-Gottwalds kennzeichnen; mehr ist im Rahmen einer Besprechung nicht möglich.

Damit soll nicht die Möglichkeit, daß Wolz-Gottwald mit seiner These letztendlich doch recht hat, in Abrede gestellt werden. Mit den oben beschriebenen Methoden kann ihre Stimmigkeit aber nicht bewiesen werden. Natürlich enthalten auch die "klassischen" Werke der altindischen Medizin viel Philosophisches, und offensichtlich bestehen (wie schon auf S.158 angemerkt) auch Verbindungen mit den verschiedenen uns bekannten philosophischen Systemen Indiens; dies trifft insbesondere für *Ca* zu. All dies entbindet uns aber nicht von der vielleicht lästigen, aber doch notwendigen Pflicht, bei jedem Vergleich erst einmal die Evidenz *in extenso* und jeweils nach Materialsorte *getrennt* zu prüfen; solche Untersuchungen müssen sowohl den verschiedenen gedanklichen Kategorien und der Systematik als auch der Terminologie gelten, wobei stets vor Augen gehalten werden muß, daß auf den ersten Blick Ähnliches nicht notwendigerweise Gleiches ist oder auf den gleichen Ursprung hinweist. Es geht nicht an, daß man einfach Material aus verschiedenen Textgattungen und Einzelwerken vermengt, ohne bewiesen zu haben, daß es sich tatsächlich um Vergleichbares handelt. Dabei werden wir nicht nur nach Textgattungen und Werken, sondern auch innerhalb eines einzelnen Werkes nach verschiedenen Schichten o.dgl. differenzieren müssen; jeder Indologe weiß, wie gefährlich es ist, die Homogenität eines Werkes einfach vorauszusetzen, und dies trifft für die "klassischen" medizinischen Werke in besonderem Maße zu. So wissen wir beispielsweise, daß *Ca* nicht nur mindestens zweimal redigiert und erweitert worden ist, sondern daß auch den mittelalterlichen Kommentatoren[77] mehrere Interpolationen[78] und Varianten bekannt waren; daneben gibt es, wie die vorhandenen Handschriften und Texteditionen belegen, viele andere Veränderungen. Bei anderen einschlägigen Texten ist es nicht viel anders. Hieraus wird ersichtlich, wie problematisch es schon wird, von *der* Doktrin eines einzigen Werkes zu sprechen,[79] geschweige denn der "klassischen"

Freunde, die gut mit ihm stehen, die sehr zuverlässig sind und religiöse und weltliche Zusammenhänge erklären können, sollten ihn mit differenzierender Erkenntnis, (innerer) Festigkeit, Erinnerung (an das Wesen) und Versenkung (samādhi) vertraut machen'.

[77] Erhältlich sind zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt nur die Kommentare Cakrapāṇidattas, Jejjaṭas und Śivadāsasenas (die beiden letzten fragmentarisch).

[78] Vgl. z.B. oben, S.181.

[79] Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang z.B. Priya Vrat Sharma, *Further Probe into the Caraka-Samhita*, Jamnagar 1989 (Dr. P.M. Mehta Memorial Lecture), der S.9ff. ohne Differenzierung einzelne Passagen aus *Ca* als für den gesamten Text gültig ansieht und, indem er *caraka-* von √*car* ableitet, das Bild einer umherwandernden, wohltätigen Sekte der Carakas zeichnet, sogar mit detaillierten Angaben zu deren Kleidung und Sitten. Auf S.15 schreibt er: 'Carakas were wandering mendicants (Bhiksus) who devoted their life in search of knowledge and solving the health problems of the people. Thus they were not ascetics renouncing the world but deeply involved in its problems though completely detached from it. In this sense, it was a perfect Karmayoga or Anasaktiyoga which they practised in life. As is evident from the CS, they denounced

Medizin in ihrer Gesamtheit; geradezu vermessen ist es aber, ohne Differenzierung von *der* indischen Medizin zu sprechen. Der komplizierten Materie wird man jedenfalls nicht dadurch gerecht werden, daß man alles unterscheidungslos in einen Topf wirft.[80]

Hier kommen wir zu einem für die Erforschung der indischen Medizin ganz wesentlichen Punkt, der viel zu selten zur Sprache kommt und von Wolz-Gottwald bis auf einige verstreute Anmerkungen völlig außer acht gelassen worden ist. Es geht darum, daß Āyurveda keine markenrechtlich geschützte Bezeichnung ist. Wenn Indologen von Āyurveda reden, dann meinen sie in der Regel ein bestimmtes, durchaus "schulmedizinisches" System, daß in den "klassischen" und sich an diese anschließenden medizinischen

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the domestic life and were fully acquainted with its demerits.' Vgl. dagegen Shingo Einoo ('Zum Namen *Caraka-*', *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 8/9, 1982/83, 169f.), der auf S.170 schreibt: 'Deshalb kann man wohl behaupten, daß das Verbum *car* im Sinne von "vollziehen" dem Schule-Namen Caraka zugrundeliegt. Diese Annahme ist m.E. auch günstig für den übertragenen Sinn des Wortes *caraka* als "Arzt". *Caraka* wäre also hier nicht wandernder Mediziner, so möchte ich behaupten, sondern ein eine heilende Handlung Vollziehender (und es kann auch sein, daß zu den heiligen Handlungen auch z.B. die etwa in KauśS gelehrten Zauberhandlungen gehörten).' Gemäß M. Witzel ('Zu den Namen vedischer Śākhās', *StII*, 10, 1984, 231-237) wäre *caraka-* 'einer, der die (Zauber-)ritualhandlung ausführt' (S.233) (wohingegen er 'Caraka, or the wandering pupil, *brahmacārin*' schreibt auf S.108 von: 'Tracing the Vedic Dialects', in: *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, hrsg. von Colette Caillat, Paris 1989, 97-265). (Zur vedischen Caraka-Schule s. Witzel, 'Materialien zu den vedischen Schulen', *StII*, 7, 1981, 109-132 und 8/9, 1982/83, 171-240, sowie S.113, 115, 164, 168, 171f., 240f. in 'Tracing ...'; auch Sharma führt op.cit. einige Belege für ihre Erwähnung an.)

[80] Wie schwierig die Materie ist, mag ein Beispiel aus *Ca* erhellen. Ci 24,52f. sagt: 'Was sowohl im Jenseits als auch hier *śreyas-* und was in Bezug auf *mokṣa-* das höchste *śreyas-* ist, das alles ist/das ist in seiner Gesamtheit abhängig von/sich befindend in dem *samādhi-* des Geistes (der Psyche?) aller mit Körpern Versehenen' (*pretya ceha ca yac chreyaḥ śreyo mokṣe ca yat param / manaḥsamādhau tat sarvam āyattaṃ sarvadehinām*). Sind die hier unübersetzt gelassenen Ausdrücke schon in reinen "philosophischen" Texten einer bedeutungsgemäßen Eingrenzung bedürftig, da sie je nach Standpunkt der sie verwendenden Denkrichtung verschieden interpretierbar sind, so sind sie es in einem "medizinischen" Text erst recht, ganz abgesehen von dem Umstand, daß das Vorhandensein eines solchen Verses in einem solchen Text ohnehin erklärungsbedürftig erscheint. Noch komplizierter wird die Angelegenheit dadurch, daß dieser Vers in einem Kapitel steht, das vom übermäßigen Alkoholgenuß handelt. Die Wirkungsweise übermäßigen Alkohols und das Erscheinungsbild des Betrunkenen werden bis zum unmittelbar vorangehenden Vers (51) geschildert. 53 sagt dann, daß der Geist durch Alkohol verwirrt werde; dieser Gedanke wird in den nachfolgenden Versen verfolgt, von denen 55 sagt, daß die durch Alkohol Umnebelten nicht mehr mit *śreyas-* verbunden seien (*madyopahatavijñānā viyuktāḥ sāttvikair guṇaiḥ / śreyobhir viprayujyante madāndhā madalālasāḥ*). Ist *śreyas-* in 52 und 55 das Gleiche? Auf jeden Fall ist der Zusammenhang zwischen 52 und Trunkenheit nicht problemlos. Doch gehört 52 überhaupt in den Text hinein? Von Alkohol oder Trunkenheit ist in ihm keine Rede, so daß er in alle möglichen Kontexte passen würde. Es fällt auch auf, daß 51 den Betrunkenen mit *saḥ* erwähnt, während 53 mit *madyena manasaś cāsya saṅkṣobhaḥ kriyate mahān* anfängt; gedanklich kann man diese zwei Verse gut verbinden, so daß *asya* sich auch auf *saḥ* beziehen könnte. Aber reicht dies aus, um 52 als Einschub zu verdächtigen? Cakrapāṇidatta jedenfalls sieht den Vers nicht als solchen an, sagt aber auch, daß er eine bestimmte Antialkoholikerposition einleite (*pretya cehetyādinā ekīyamataṃ madyanindakaṃ darśayati*); man beachte besonders, daß Cakrapāṇidatta von Alkohol überhaupt (und nicht nur seinem übermäßigen Genuß) spricht, wozu dann auch paßt, daß 53ff. in der Tat Alkoholgenuß überhaupt zu verdammen scheinen, wogegen man in 58ff. eine Gegenposition findet, wo gesagt wird, daß nur übermäßiger Genuß von Alkohol schade, er ansonsten wie Nahrung (*anna-*) sei und nach *yukti-* genossen ein *rasāyana-*, ansonsten Gift (*viṣa-*) (zu *yukti-* und *rasāyana-* s. auch S.168 bzw. S.181 und Anm.89) — diese Gegenposition ist auch offenbar die in diesem Kapitel akzeptierte. Aber der Vers 52 wäre dann, da er sie einleitet, höchstwahrscheinlich Teil einer Position, die nicht die von *Ca* vertretene zu sein scheint! Natürlich könnte man alle diese Probleme unberücksichtigt lassen und Ci 24,52 in eine schöne, einheitliche Theorie etwa über den 'Erlösungsgedanken bei Caraka' einbauen, doch redlich wäre dies nicht.

Werken beschrieben wird. Daneben müssen aber mehrere sich mit Medizin befassende Systeme existiert haben bzw. existieren, die sich auch Āyurveda nannten oder nennen; von einigen besitzen wir auch literarische Zeugnisse. Da selbst das als "klassisch" erachtete System offenbar mehrere Stränge vereint (d.h. nicht homogen ist) und zudem das Verhältnis dieses "schulmedizinischen" Systems zu dem ebenfalls als Āyurveda bezeichneten heutigen (heterodoxen) "schulmedizinischen" System ungeklärt ist, liegt es auf der Hand, daß in diesem Bereich große Verwirrung entstehen kann und auch entstanden ist;[81] für noch größere Verwirrung sorgen Forscher (vor allem Völkerkundler), die sogar volksmedizinische[82] Systeme, deren Ursprünge wohl in ganz anderen südasiatischen Kulturkreisen liegen, auch als Āyurveda bezeichnen.[83]

Das ist aber nicht alles. Viele Systeme, die dem yogischen, tantrischen und ähnlichen Bereichen zuzuordnen sind, befaßten oder befassen sich zwangsläufig mit Aufbau und Funktion des Körpers, was sie, obwohl ihre Beweggründe verschieden sind, alsbald in "medizinische" Gefilde führt(e).[84] Dabei ist durchaus nicht immer, aber doch oft eine unbewußte oder bewußte Angleichung an ein sich Āyurveda nennendes System zu beobachten, vor allem an jenes, das wir hier als das "klassische" System bezeichnet haben. Solches kann einerseits durch Übernahme von Termini und Theorien aus dem āyurvedischen Bereich geschehen, andererseits aber auch durch das Einbringen der eigenen, anderen Quellen und Zielsetzungen entsprungenen Theorien und Termini in das āyurvedische System. Wie Albrecht Wezler unlängst wieder hervorgehoben hat, scheint offenbar vor allem das Yoga-System diesen Anschluß gesucht zu haben, und zwar schon in früher Zeit.[85] Einen schönen Beleg bewußter "Unterwanderung" haben wir in dem späten *Āyurvedasūtra*, das eigentlich nichts anderes als ein mit aus der Sicht des "klassischen" Āyurveda bisweilen recht merkwürdigen medizinischen Theorien durchsetztes Werk aus der yogischen (und tantrischen?) Tradition ist. Wolz-Gottwald scheint von dem Titel des Werkes irregeleitet worden zu sein, führt er es doch als Beleg dafür an, daß die 'philosophische Psychotherapie', obwohl ihre Bedeutung innerhalb der "klassischen" āyurvedischen Tradition stark abnahm, doch noch innerhalb dieser Tradition fortgesetzt wurde (S.157-160).

Damit soll nichts über die Ursprünge der oben besprochenen *Ca*-Passagen gesagt werden; wir wissen zu wenig über die heterogenen Ursprünge der *Carakasaṃhitā*, um konkrete Aussagen machen zu können. Doch die Nähe zu Gedankengut, das auch in Werken des Sāṅkhya(-Yoga) auftritt, fällt einem sofort auf, wie auch der Umstand, daß

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[81] Der Forscher wird also auch bei einem Bezug, der zunächst klar "medizinisch" zu sein scheint, immer mit äußerster Vorsicht zu Werke gehen müssen; als ein Beispiel für eine solche vorsichtige Vorgehensweise möge der in Anm.25 zitierte Aufsatz von Albrecht Wezler dienen.

[82] Der gelehrter klingende moderne Ausdruck wäre 'ethnomedizinische'.

[83] S. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Einleitung zum Aufsatz von Dieter von Schmädel und B. Hochkirchen in dieser Zeitschrift.

[84] Gerade aus dem indischen Mittelalter kennen wir eine Vielzahl solcher Systeme; sehr viele sind übrigens aus dem Zusammenspiel mit islamisch-sufischem Gedankengut entstanden.

[85] S.293, 300ff., 307 von: 'On the Quadruple Division of the Yogaśāstra, the Caturvyūha of the Cikitsāśāstra and the "Four Noble Truths" of the Buddha. (*Studies in the Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa II*)', *Indologica Taurinensia*, 12, 1984, 289-337.

es sich hier um doch irgendwie "Sachfremdes" zu handeln scheint (vgl. oben, S.177), das für den restlichen Text von *Ca* kaum Relevanz besitzt.[86] Dennoch bieten sie die Möglichkeit, weiteres Gedankengut aus dem Bereich des Yoga, auch in Bezug auf die Yoga-Praxis, in die āyurvedische Literatur hineinzubringen. Daß diesem Versuch, sollte es ihn gegeben haben, im Bereich des "klassischen" Āyurveda kein oder bestenfalls mäßiger Erfolg beschieden war, bezeugen die vorhandenen Texte,[87] aber die heutigen Verhältnisse zeigen klar, daß die Verbindung mit anderen sich Āyurveda nennenden Systemen so gut geglückt ist, daß heute für viele Yoga einen integralen Bestandteil des Āyurveda darstellt und als Folge davon rückwirkend auch in das "klassische" System hineininterpretiert wird, wie ja auch Wolz-Gottwald es immer wieder tut,[88] ohne sich anscheinend der damit verbundenen Problematik bewußt zu sein.[89] Zwar vermittelt auch Roşus in Anm.25 erwähnte Werk,[90] in dem verschiedene Texte und Textgattungen nicht sauber auseinandergehalten und daher immer wieder zur gegenseitigen Erklärung herangezogen werden, auf den ersten Blick einen ähnlichen Eindruck, doch eine eingehende Lektüre zeigt, daß bis auf wenige Ausnahmen[91] nur die Rede von Gemeinsamkeiten ist oder davon, daß die Autoren der "klassischen" medizinischen Werke die Terminologie des Systems des Yoga verwenden; obwohl auch solche Aussagen aus methodologischen Gründen nicht über jedweden Zweifel erhaben sind, zeigen sie doch, wie vorsichtig Roşu

[86] Dies ist natürlich nur ein gefühlsmäßiges Empfinden, dem ohne eingehendere Prüfung kein wissenschaftlicher Wert zukommen kann, das andererseits aber auch nicht einfach vernachlässigt werden sollte.

[87] Dazu steht nicht im Widerspruch, daß es natürlich auch Stellen in diesen Texten gibt, in denen eine gewisse geistige Reife und eine Ausgeglichenheit, die sich nicht an weltliche Dinge klammert, als ein wichtiger Faktor für Erhaltung und Wiederherstellung der Gesundheit angesehen werden. Solches könnte auch ein "materialistischer" westlicher Arzt äußern, da auch ihm natürlich nicht unbekannt ist, daß der Geist den Körper beeinflußt (und der übrigens auch darüber aufgeklärt ist, daß körperliche Krankheiten ihren Ursprung im Geist haben können). Man käme aber kaum auf den Gedanken, hieraus auf das Vorhandensein einer speziellen 'spirituell-philosophischen' Komponente in diesem westlichen System zu schließen.

[88] Indem er u.a. (und trotz der Bemerkungen etwa auf S.21 seines Werkes) auch nicht sauber zwischen der *heutigen* einheimischen Erklärung bzw. Apologetik des "klassischen" Systems und diesem System selbst unterscheidet.

[89] Auf S.109 meint er auch, Elixiere (*rasāyana-*) 'dienen zur Unterstützung der Übungspraxis. So wurde rasāyana zusammen mit den Übungen (tapas) von vielen Suchern angewendet.' Dabei bedenkt er nicht, daß die *ṛṣi-*s sich ja gerade durch die Ausübung von *tapas-* besonders auszeichneten; daß die Einnahme von Elixieren sie hierzu besser in die Lage versetzte, bedeutet doch noch lange nicht, daß solche Präparate *allgemein* diesen Zweck haben!

[90] Eine verkürzte englische Übersetzung der 'Conclusion' (S.215-224) ist erschienen als 'Medicine and Psychology in Ancient India', *Curare*, 4, 1981, 205-210.

[91] Als Beispiel diene S.223: 'Le yoga vise au déconditionnement de l'être humain en quête d'absolu par la maîtrise du corps et de l'esprit. Dans l'ordre physiologique, on pratique le contrôle du souffle (*prāṇāyāma*) et dans l'ordre psychologique, la méditation. L'un et l'autre trouvent leurs fondements théoriques dans les doctrines médicales.'

im Vergleich zu Wolz-Gottwald verfahren ist,[92] in dessen Falle noch hinzu kommt, daß er unterschiedslos von 'Meditation',[93] 'Askese' und 'Yoga' spricht, ohne jemals zu erwähnen, daß es sich hierbei doch um Verschiedenartiges handeln kann.[94] Hätte Wolz-Gottwald die oben dargelegte Problematik bedacht, so hätte er sich vielleicht nicht so sehr bemüht bei dem Versuch, das Vorhandensein einer 'philosophischen Psychotherapie' und einer damit verbundenen Meditations- bzw. Yoga-Praxis im Bereich der "klassischen" altindischen Medizin zu beweisen, sondern sich vorerst darauf beschränkt, den tatsächlich einst und heute nachweislich vorhandenen Verbindungen zur Medizin außerhalb dieses "klassischen" Systems nachzuspüren, insbesondere in Bezug auf das moderne

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[92] Interessanterweise werden *Ca*, Śā 1,137-139 von Roşu überhaupt nicht erwähnt, und zu Śā 1,140f. wird nur gesagt: 'Sur le Yoga dans l'Āyurveda, cf. *Śārīra* I,140-141' (S.192[2]). Dabei hätten gerade diese Verse eine ausführliche Analyse verdient. Śā 1,137-141 lauten:

yoge mokşe ca sarvāsāṃ vedanānām avartanam
mokşe nivṛttir niḥśeşā yoge mokşapravartakaḥ
ātmendriyamano'rthānāṃ sannikarşāt pravartate
sukhaduḥkham anārambhād ātmasthe manasi sthire
nivartate tad ubhayaṃ vaśitvaṃ copajāyate
saśarīrasya yogajñās taṃ yogam ṛşayo viduḥ
āveśaś cetaso jñānam arthānāṃ chandataḥ kriyā
dṛştiḥ śrotraṃ smṛtiḥ kāntir iştataś cāpy adarśanam
ity aştavidham ākhyātaṃ yoginām balam aiśvaram
śuddhasattvasamādhānāt tat sarvam upajāyate

(Cakrapāṇidatta erwähnt in seinem Kommentar die Variante *yogamokşau nivartakau* für *yoge mokşapravartakaḥ*). Sowohl die genaue Bedeutung von *yoga-* als auch sein Stellenwert im erwähnten Kapitel und im Text überhaupt bedarf einer eingehenden Untersuchung, zumal 1,142 (auch diesen Vers erwähnt Roşu nicht) *mokşa-* und *apunarbhava-* verbindet; s. Anm.57. Eine ausführliche Analyse hätte auch der von Roşu nicht erwähnte Vers *Ca*, Śā 5,17 verdient, in dem es um die *śuddhā satyā buddhiḥ* des *śuddhasattva-* geht:

sarvabhāvasvabhāvajño yayā bhavati niḥspṛhaḥ
yogaṃ yayā sādhayate sāṅkhyaḥ sampadyate yayā.

[93] Es scheint bisweilen, daß Wolz-Gottwald bestrebt ist, die Meditation auch in den unpassendsten Zusammenhängen anzuführen. Man vgl. z.B. S.54, wo der in medizinischen Werken, aber auch in vedischen Texten (nicht nur in upaniṣadischen) erwähnte Glaube, das Herz sei der Sitz derjenigen geistigen Fähigkeiten, die wir mit dem Hirn verbinden (auch des Intellekts — *buddhi-* —, was Wolz-Gottwald nicht erwähnt), mit den folgenden Worten erklärt wird: 'Die Upaniṣaden-Philosophen erkannten, daß der Urgrund des Menschen nicht durch rationales Denken zu erfassen ist. Sie beschreiben ein auf Meditation gestütztes überrationales Erfahren, das als ein Sich-Einlassen auf das göttliche Wesen des Menschen bezeichnet werden kann. Kein rationales Wissen sondern eine "Herzens-Erkenntnis" war gefordert.' Diese merkwürdige Erklärung (die u.a. eine übertragene Bedeutung von 'Herz' im *Deutschen* bemühen muß), ist apodiktisch; man fragt sich auch, ob Wolz-Gottwald die bei anderen Völkern vorhandenen ähnlichen Vorstellungen in Bezug auf das Herz auch so erklären würde.

[94] So ist z.B. die Zielsetzung (und wahrscheinlich auch der Ursprung) der Askeseformen, die durch Kasteiung magische Macht akkumulieren wollen, anders als die jener Formen, denen es um Erlösung geht. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch hingewiesen auf die zwei verschiedenen Formen der Meditation, die J. Bronkhorst untersucht hat (*The Two Traditions of Meditation in Ancient India*, Stuttgart 1986), wobei allerdings die Methode, nach der Bronkhorst diese Formen anschließend bestimmten religiösen Gruppen zuordnet, scharf kritisiert worden ist (s. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1987, 373-375). Zu beachten ist auch, daß das, was wir heute Yoga nennen, oft unentwirrbar verflochten ist mit dem, was wir Tantrismus nennen (zu denken ist in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem an Haṭhayoga), in dem zwar auch die Entsprechung zwischen Mikro- und Makrokosmos eine Rolle spielt, eine noch größere aber die Vereinigung des weiblichen und männlichen Prinzips, oft durch sexuelle Praktiken.

Zeitalter. Auch der Interaktion mit modernem westlichem Gedankengut hätte er sich dann mehr widmen können, als dies in dem vorliegenden Werk der Fall gewesen ist; im Grunde geht es ihm ja auch anscheinend um eben diese Interaktion (vor dem Hintergrund der westlichen Antizipation des indischen Gedankenguts), die in dieser Rezension nicht gebührend berücksichtigt werden konnte; vgl. oben, S.160. In der Tat sind in einer Zeit, in der sich die westliche Allopathie im Bewußtsein vieler in einer Krise befindet (ob dies tatsächlich zutrifft oder nicht, bleibe dahingestellt), neue, richtungsweisende Denkanstöße aus dieser Richtung nicht auszuschließen, denn obwohl vieles, das im Westen als "indisch" oder gar "altindisch" vermarktet wird, eine unseriöse Modeerscheinung ist, ist keinesfalls alles, was in diesem Gewand daherkommt, nutzlos, auch wenn es im Einzelfall nicht "alt"indisch oder gar echt "indisch" sein sollte. Aber ernst zu nehmende Gedanken sollten es doch eigentlich nicht nötig haben, sich nur unter dem Deckmantel des "klassischen" Āyurveda Erfolg bei dem Streben nach Anerkennung zu versprechen! Eine derartige Begriffsvermengung ist nicht nur unredlich und irreführend, sie erschwert auch eine echte wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung oder macht sie gar unmöglich. Im Sinne einer ehrlichen Auseinandersetzung wäre es also wünschenswert, daß viel mehr differenziert werde, als heute allgemein getan wird; eine Befreiung von dem Fetischismus der als obligatorisch erachteten Bezugnahme auf das "klassische" altindische medizinische System wäre dazu die erste Voraussetzung. Auch Wolz-Gottwald hätte sich dann frei vom vermeintlichen Zwang, die Legitimation durch die "klassische" altindische Medizin suchen zu müssen, ganz seinem eigentlichen Ziel, nämlich dem Studium der Relevanz des ihn beschäftigenden Gedankenguts für die moderne westliche Medizin, widmen können, einer Aufgabe, der er auch ungleich besser gewachsen zu sein scheint. Es ist sicher verdienstvoll, daß er die allgemeine Leserschaft auf einen wichtigen Aspekt der "klassischen" indischen Medizin (insbesondere in *Ca*) aufmerksam gemacht hat, aber seine Diskussion und Schlußfolgerungen übersehen so viele z.T. grundlegende Probleme vor allem (doch nicht nur) überlieferungsgeschichtlicher, textkritischer[95] und begrifflicher Art, daß sein Buch in der vorliegenden Form ein Bild der indischen Medizin vermitteln muß, das irreleitend ist.

Summary: *According to the work reviewed above, "classical" Indian medicine combines three strands: the rational, the magico-religious and the spiritual-philosophical, each with its own form of therapy, this being in the case of the last characterised as 'philosophical psychotherapy'. The review argues that not only this terminology, but the divisions presupposed too are highly problematic. It further attempts to show that generalising interpretation as attempted here is premature as long as the basic text-criticial and philological problems of the relevant texts have not been tackled satisfactorily, at the same time drawing attention to the fact that not only the "classical" tradition as such, but even individual texts are not homogeneous, while also pointing out that what goes under the name of Āyurveda may actually refer to quite different things, and that material utilised for study should therefore first be placed in the proper context in this regard, this holding true especially for material combining or attempting to combine Yoga and Āyurveda.*

[95] Es ist zwar kaum zu glauben, aber dennoch wahr, daß kein einziger Text der Vṛddhatrayī bisher in einer Weise ediert worden ist, die wir "kritisch" nennen könnten; nur eine Ausgabe des *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* kommt diesem Ideal einigermaßen nah. Doch warum sollte es im Bereich der indischen Medizin besser aussehen als im Bereich der Vedologie, wo selbst die *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* noch nicht kritisch ediert worden ist?

Suresh Kumar, Shriram Sharma, Ramanath Dwivedi, *Advances in Research and Education in Ayurveda.* The Journal of Research and Education in Indian Medicine: Varanasi 1985. 140 pp. Rs. 120.— or US $ 40.—.

Dieses Werk besteht aus Nachdrucken aus *The Journal of Research and Education in Indian Medicine* (1983 und 1984). Die Themen der einzelnen Beiträge gehen meistens schon aus den Überschriften hervor: 'Revival and Advancement of Ayurvedic Education', 'Under-Graduate Education in Ayurveda: Present Setup', 'Evolution of Post-Graduate Education in Ayurveda', 'Six Decades: Historical Appraisal of Provincial (States) and Central Committees on Indigenous Systems of Medicine (1923-1983)' und 'Advances in Post-Graduate Research and Education in Ayurveda: Subject Guide to the Research Materials (Post-Graduate and Doctoral Theses)'. Alles in allem wird das Werk diejenigen sehr interessieren, die mehr über Geschichte, amtliche Politik (vor und nach Erlangung der Unabhängigkeit Indiens) in Bezug auf Verbreitung und Lehre und jetzige Möglichkeiten und Materialien zum Studium des modernen Āyurveda erfahren möchten,[1] wobei es kaum stören dürfte, daß einige Beiträge die aus vielen indischen Publikationen bekannten apologetischen Verherrlichungen des Āyurveda enthalten. Wer die moderne Version des Āyurveda in Indien selbst studieren möchte, wird auch die Adressen relevanter Einrichtungen finden (S.15-19 und S.29f.). Potentiell sehr wichtig ist die Bibliographie von Dissertationen und ähnlichen Arbeiten auf S.73-140 (mit Indizes der Themen, Pflanzen und Drogen); allerdings dürfte ein warnender Hinweis hier nicht fehl am Platze sein, da ich an Hand dieser Liste vor einigen Jahren an etwa ein halbes Dutzend wissenschaftlicher Einrichtungen schrieb mit der Bitte, mir weitere Information über und, wenn möglich, Kopien einzelner genannter Dissertationen zukommen zu lassen — in nicht einem Falle wurde mein per Einschreiben gesandter Brief überhaupt beantwortet.

Rahul Peter Das

Jean Boulnois, *Le caducée et la symbolique dravidienne indo-méditerranéenne de l'arbre, de la pierre, du serpent et de la déesse-mère.* (With a preface by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.) Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient: Paris 1989. VII; 194 pp., with 12 plates. FF 160.—.

Publié pour la première fois en 1939, il y a cinquante ans, l'ouvrage, qui se trouva épuisé, est maintenant réimprimé par la même éditeur et avec un index établi par les soins de la fille de l'auteur. Celui-ci a connu l'Inde comme médecin colonial de 1932 à 1935 dans les Établissements français du pays tamoul et du Bengale, où l'avait précédé au tournant du XIX^{e} siècle, à une génération de distance, le docteur Palmyr Cordier (1898-1903). Historien de le médecine, ce dernier s'était intéressé à l'Āyurveda, alors

[1] Für weiteres relevantes Material s. A. Roşu, 'Le renouveau contemporain de l'Āyurveda', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie*, 26, 1982, 59-82, und 'Les traditions āyurvédiques à Bénares aux temps modernes', *Indologica Taurinensia*, 12, 1984, 399-405, sowie D. Schmädel, 'Ayurveda — Medizinsystem im Wandel', *Curare*, 12, 1989, 97-112.

que J. Boulnois a observé en ethnographe les croyances populaires et les pratiques magico-religieuses en rapport avec la fécondité et la santé.

Ce travail, qui porte sur l'Inde dravidienne et touche aux origines de la médecine, fut encouragé par l'archéologue G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, connaisseur du Sud de l'Inde, et inspiré des travaux de C. Autran sur la civilisation du monde méditerranéen oriental, vue sous un nouvel éclairage après la découverte de la civilisation de l'Indus vers 1925 (compte rendu de J. Filliozat dans *Journal asiatique*, 230, 1938, 672-675). Attestée archéologiquement à Mohenjo Daro et à Harappa, la civilisation préaryenne est observable de nos jours, d'après J. Boulnois, dans la civilisation dravidienne historique, dont il a étudié les croyances relatives à la fertilité, telles qu'elles se manifestent dans l'important ensemble arbre—pierre—serpent—Déesse-Mère. L'auteur analyse avec force détails cette idéologie de la sexualité fécondante dans l'Inde du Sud (p.3-59) et ses affinités dans le monde égéen (p.60-169), où aurait rayonné cette civilisation préaryenne des Dravidiens.

On pourrait épiloguer longuement sur tel ou tel apport préaryen à l'Inde classique, tout comme sur certaines ressemblances de la civilisation préaryenne avec d'autres cultures, notamment celles du Proche-Orient (cf. L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique I*, Paris 1947-1949, 187-189). Il faut reconnaître tout ce qui subsiste d'incertitudes dans cette matière. En effet, le comparatisme s'avère dangereux dans l'étude des cultures appartenant à l'espace indo-méditerranéen, qu'évoque l'ouvrage, copieusement documenté, recensé ici. D'après des documents écrits et figurés de l'Inde à la Méditerranée, l'auteur présente les hiérophanies associées au végétal, à la pierre et au serpent, dont l'herméneutique se prolonge dans l'interprétation du caducée, avec maintes références à la médicine: la médicine tripartite des Indo-Européens (cf. É. Benveniste, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 130, 1945, 5-12, et G. Dumézil, *Magazine littéraire*, 229, 1986, 36-39), croyances relatives à la fécondité, thérapeutique magico-religieuse de la variole, etc. En ce qui concerne le culte des serpents guérisseurs, auquel se réfère le livre (p.8), il est permis de mentionner la contribution de Marcelle Lalou, 'Le culte des *nāga* et la thérapeutique', *Journal asiatique*, 230, 1938, 1-19.

J. Boulnois a parfois recours dans ses hypothèses à des étymologies discutables, comme celles qui concernent le théonyme grec Asclépios (p.163) et le nom propre sanskrit Śākya (p.127). Désignant le clan dans lequel le Buddha est né, ce dernier nom est rattaché à l'appellation *śāka* 'teck (arbre)', pour étoffer le dossier végétal de la légende de Śākyamuni (contra M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg 1956-1980, Vol.III, 321, et R.L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1962-1966, p.717a). La réimpression a permis de corriger certaines coquilles du texte publié en 1939, marqué de l'esprit de l'époque. On doit ajouter que la première édition du présent ouvrage fut l'objet d'un compte rendu de H. Beythan dans *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 44, 1941, col.80 et 83-84.

Arion Roşu

Renate Syed, *Die Flora Altindiens in Literatur und Kunst. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München*. [Renate Syed]: München 1990. 775 pp. DM 88.—.

The objective Renate Syed set herself is formulated in the Preface to her book. She points to the well-known fact that translators of Sanskrit texts, when confronted with plant names, usually consult a dictionary. The identifications of Böhtlingk and Roth's Petersburg Dictionary (1855-1875), adopted by Monier-Williams, Apte and others, are still those found in by far the larger part of the secondary literature. Renate Syed decided to check whether or not these identifications agree with the data that can be collected from Indian literature and art. In order to achieve her object she selected the names of a rather large number of plants and gathered information on particulars that appeared potentially helpful in corroborating or rejecting the botanical equivalents of the Petersburg Dictionary. Numerous Sanskrit and Pali texts were scrutinized by the authoress; medical treatises and their commentaries were only occasionally consulted, these being regarded as 'helpful, although particularly problematic'. The often very apt and useful descriptions of plants in commentaries on medical texts were obviously overlooked.

The work deals with about one hundred and twenty botanical species, arranged alphabetically according to their Sanskrit names. A special section is devoted to the names designating lotuses and water-lilies.

Each entry begins with the information found in the Petersburg Dictionary and the dictionaries of Monier-Williams, Turner and Mayrhofer, to which are added synonyms from the *Amarakośa* and Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, as well as data from the publications on Indian plants by Sir William Jones, Roxburgh's *Flora Indica*, and, occasionally, Ainslie's *Materia Medica*. These references are followed by the material from literary sources, a description of the plant, a discussion of the botanical identity, and a drawing of the plant. Annotated reproductions of works of art representing the plant in question are appended to many entries.

Renate Syed's book is valuable in many respects. The quotations from literary sources are useful and interesting. The discussions on the botanical identity of the plants are of considerable importance. Numerous identifications found in the Petersburg Dictionary are confirmed by the authoress, while, on the other hand, identifications about which uncertainty remains are duly recorded.

In spite of the wealth of data that this book contains, it will not be out of place to offer some critical remarks.

Completely obscure are the reasons the authoress may have had for adopting a particular botanical nomenclature in her descriptions of plants. Examples are: *Hiptage madablota* (*atimukta/mādhavī*; pp.34-39) and *Stereospermum suaveolens* (*pāṭală/pāṭalī*; pp.426-431), botanical names absent from the Petersburg Dictionary and found, among the authoress' sources, only in Mayrhofer's *Concise Etymological Dictionary*; the name *Lagenaria siceraria* (*alābu/tikta*; pp.59-65) is even completely absent from the authoress' sources. This way of using botanical names is not only inconsistent, but also confusing, since it might suggest that the names chosen for the descriptions are the valid ones, such as prescribed, e.g., by the *Index Kewensis* or the *International Code of Botanical Nomenclature*. Botanically valid names are, however, rarely employed by the authoress. This

need not be regarded as a deficiency, but consistency, for example the systematic adoption of the names of the Petersburg Dictionary, would have been preferable.

In some cases the authoress appears to be over-confident in her identifications. A case in point is *kovidāra* (pp.245-252), said to be, without a trace of doubt, *Bauhinia variegata*. The textual references collected by Renate Syed point, admittedly, to a species of the genus *Bauhinia*, but it cannot possibly be determined which species is meant. The only source mentioning the colour of the flowers is the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, which describes them as being red like a lotus. This single reference implies that either *Bauhinia variegata Linn.* or *B. purpurea Linn.* is intended in this passage. The other arguments are even less convincing: the Hindī word *koilār*, said to refer to *B. variegata*, actually designates both *B. variegata* and *B. purpurea*; moreover, Indian sculpture reproduces the characteristic leaves of the genus *Bauhinia*, not a particular species.

Another plant, over-confidently identified, is *rodhra/lodhra* (pp.339-347), said to be *Symplocos racemosa*. As in many other instances, the authoress has refrained from investigating whether other species, not mentioned in the Sanskrit dictionaries, but referred to in works on the Indian materia medica, also answer to the criteria she collected. The identity of *rodhra/lodhra* is not as certain as suggested, since three species of *Symplocos* may be meant and are actually employed as sources of *rodhra/lodhra* in medicine: *Symplocos racemosa Roxb.*, *S. paniculata Miq.* = *S. crataegoides Buch.-Ham. ex D. Don*, and *S. laurina Wall. ex Rehd. et E.H. Wils.* = *S. spicata Roxb.*

One-to-one identifications often lead to an oversimplification of a complicated state of affairs. This is also illustrated by the assumption that *śiṃśapā* (pp.572-578) denotes only *Dalbergia sissoo Roxb.*, while, in fact, the same vernacular names are applied to the closely related *D. latifolia Roxb.* In general, the already mentioned decision of the authoress to focus her attention on species referred to in the dictionaries, is responsible for these simplifications. An additional example is the identification of *tagara* as *Ervatamia coronaria Stapf*; there seems to be no doubt that more than one plant is known by this name; at least two wild species of *Ervatamia* bear the same vernacular names (see Dymock, Warden and Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indica II*, 413).

Fortunately, there are exceptions to this rule to be found in the book. The possibility that *lavalī* designates *Luvunga scandens (Roxb.) Buch.-Ham. ex Wight*, as proposed by P.V. Sharma, is taken into consideration. The same applies to the identification of *tilvaka* as *Viburnum grandiflorum Wall. ex DC.* = *V. nervosum Hook.f. et Thoms.*, as suggested by T.B. Singh and K.C. Chunekar.

As already mentioned, medical texts are only occasionally quoted. The interpretations of āyurvedic terms too is not always adequate: the term *doṣa* (p.512) has been rendered by disease; *rūkṣa* (p.535) is translated as farinaceous ('mehlig' in German).

Misprints are not uncommon, but rarely annoying, except in the case of the plant *Luvunga scandens* (pp.506-507), which is consistently called *Luvanga*. Finally, it struck me that the famous Dutch editor of the *Hortus Malabaricus*, Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein, has been given the Danish nationality (Vorwort, p.II).

Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld

Maria Vittoria Macrì, *Lexicon phytonimicum. (Therapeutica ex Suśruta-saṃhitā.) Vol.I: a—au.* Centro piemontese di studi sul Medio ed Estremo Oriente: Torino 1988. (Publicazioni del CesMEO II.) 350 pp.

Depuis la mort du sanskritiste Mario Vallauri (1887-1964), élève de Julius Jolly à l'Université de Würzburg et pionnier de la recherche āyurvédique en Italie, bien rares sont les indianistes transalpins qui s'intéressent au savoir octopartite (*aṣṭāṅga*).[2] On connaissait jusqu'à présent les travaux d'Antonella Comba, qui s'attache à analyser les rapports entre Caraka et les écoles philosophiques indiennes, principalement le Vaiśeṣika. Maintenant Maria Vittoria Macrì vient de publier le premier volume de son ouvrage sur les phytonymes suśrutiens, qu'elle présente comme une première contribution à la connaissance de la *Suśrutasaṃhitā* du point de vue tant pharmacologique que linguistique et ethnologique (p.5).

Le traité de Suśruta fut étudié plus que ne le laissent supposer la préface et la bibliographie du présent volume.[3] En effet, ce classique sanskrit est le premier texte āyurvédique qui soit édité (1835-1836) et traduit en latin (1844-1850). Cette version intégrale, sévèrement critiquée, fut suivie de plusieurs projets de traduction abandonnés. Après une première version anglaise, imparfaite, au début du siècle par K.L. Bhishagratna (1907-1918), le chirurgien G. D. Singhal a entrepris, depuis 1972, la publication à Bénarès d'une autre traduction en anglais, également insuffisante, bien qu'elle soit meilleure que la précédente. Prévue en douze volumes, dont dix sont déjà publiés, cette version sera suivie d'une *Synopsis*, à paraître incessamment.[4] Il y a plus de dix ans, l'Indian National Science Academy éditait un volume semblable pour présenter une vue générale du traité de Suśruta.[5] Cet ouvrage médical sanskrit fut traduit aussi en plusieurs langues néo-indiennes, et même en japonais par le zoologiste Seigen Ojihara. Son manuscrit, terminé en 1934, vit le jour seulement en 1971 par les soins du regretté indianiste Yutaka Ojihara, fils du traducteur et auteur de la postface du volume, où il présente la vie et l'oeuvre de son père, né en 1884.[6] Le naturaliste nippon a identifié les espèces botaniques mentionnées par Suśruta.

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[2] Sur les études āyurvédiques en Italie, voir notre préface à l'ouvrage d'Antonella Comba, *La medicina indiana (Āyurveda)*, Torino 1991, 11-15.

[3] Pour l'historique des recherches sur Suśruta, voir notre introduction à l'ouvrage de G. Liétard et P. Cordier, *Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1989, *passim*.

[4] La traduction, dont les volumes sont thématiques, est faite par un collectif sous la direction de G.D. Singhal et porte le titre général *Ancient Indian Surgery*. Voir le compte rendu de F. Zimmermann pour les six premiers volumes dans *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57.2, 1983, 291-293. Les dix volumes publiés contiennent le texte du traité, alors que les deux derniers volumes en préparation concernent les drogues, d'origine végétale, d'une part, et d'origine animale et minérale, de l'autre.

[5] P. Ray, H.N. Gupta et M. Roy, *Suśruta Saṃhitā. (A Scientific Synopsis)*, New Delhi 1980.

[6] La traduction japonaise est publiée par le Département médical de l'Université d'Osaka, avec une préface de Hiroshi Maruyama, directeur de l'Institut de médecine indienne de la même ville. Nous remercions M. Neil Schmid (Philadelphia), collaborateur de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, qui nous a aidé à prendre connaissance du contenu de ce livre japonais.

Mais, pour demeurer dans le sujet de l'ouvrage ici recensé, il est regrettable que l'auteur n'ait pas considéré utile d'étoffer son information sur la matière médicale indienne pour obvier aux lacunes les plus graves créées par le progrès de la recherche en ce domaine, dont la bibliographie est en expansion constante à notre époque. À ce propos, on doit noter que P.V. Sharma a étudié les apports du commentateur Ḍalhaṇa à la connaissance des drogues suśrutiennes,[7] en particulier végétales, qu'avaient déjà répertoriées B. Singh et K.C. Chunekar.[8] En ce qui concerne la matière médicale āyurvédique, Maria Vittoria Macrì ignore également d'importants travaux publiés par R.N. Chopra, K.M. Nadkarni et d'autres spécialistes, dont fait mention G.J. Meulenbeld dans son ouvrage de référence sur le *Mādhavanidāna*.[9] Ce même auteur vient de publier une liste complémentaire de phytonymes sanskrits et la bibliographie y afférente, sous forme d'un appendice botanique à la thèse de R.P. Das sur le *Vṛkṣāyurveda*,[10] qui intéresse l'étude des plantes médicinales, tout comme deux autres récentes dissertations sur l'Āyurveda.[11]

On dispose maintenant, pour l'Inde ancienne, d'une monographie sur les aliments et les boissons,[12] dont J.C. Ray avait traité dans deux articles plus anciens, auxquels renvoie notre auteur (p.29, n.68). Certains végétaux, tels que *agaru*,[13] *kuśa* et *darbha*,[14] *pāṭā* ≠ *pāṭhā*[15] et *soma*[16] etc., ont fait l'objet d'études particulières dans le passé lointain ou récent. Enfin, une importante thèse allemande, parue presque en même temps que le *Lexicon* italien, présente des renseignements et une bibliographie fort utiles à la

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[7] P.V. Sharma, *Ḍalhaṇa and his Comments on Drugs*, New Delhi 1982. Spécialiste réputé de l'Āyurveda, cet auteur a publié de nombreux travaux sur la pharmacologie indienne traditionnelle, notamment *Introduction to Dravyaguṇa*, Varanasi 1976, et *Dravyaguṇa-vijñāna*, 5 vol., Varanasi 1955-1981 (en hindi).

[8] B. Singh et K.C. Chunekar, *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Bṛhattrayī*, Varanasi 1972.

[9] G.J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary*, Leiden 1974, 520-611: Sanskrit names of plants and their botanical equivalents.

[10] R.P. Das, *Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume. Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda*, Stuttgart 1988, pp.425-464: addenda établi par G.J. Meulenbeld pour sa liste de phytonymes précitée (note 9). On doit aussi noter qu'une bonne partie du commentaire de R.P. Das concerne l'identification des phytonymes, comme en temoignent les index de l'ouvrage.

[11] K.G. Zysk, *Religious Healing in the Veda*, Philadelphia 1985; F. Zimmermann, *Le discours des remèdes au pays des épices*, Paris 1989.

[12] Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi 1961.

[13] J. Filliozat, 'L'agalloche et les manuscrits sur bois dans l'Inde et les pays de civilisation indienne', *Journal asiatique*, 246, 1958, 85-93. Cf. J.R. Marr, 'An examination of some plant-names and identities in India', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1972, 50-51.

[14] K.C. Chunekar et al., 'Identification of *kuśa* and *darbha*', *Journal of Research in Indian Medicine, Yoga and Homoeopathy*, 12.3, 1977, 116-121.

[15] R.P. Das, 'On the identification of a Vedic plant', dans G.J. Meulenbeld et D. Wujastyk (eds), *Studies on Indian Medical History*, Groningen 1987, 19-42.

[16] Voir H. Falk, 'Soma I and II', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 52, 1989, 77-90.

recherche sur la flore indienne du point de vue médical et ethnologique aussi.[17] Ces lacunes bibliographiques pourraient être comblées par notre auteur, lors de la publication des volumes suivants de l'ouvrage. Si Maria Vittoria Macrì tient à confirmer l'intérêt que présente son *Lexicon* pour la recherche āyurvédique, elle doit l'asseoir sur une connaissance aussi large que solide de la production indologique, générale et spécialisée: 'comme un bon livre de compte, il [le travail] est au jour à l'instant précis où il a été publié' (Auguste Barth).

La recherche dans le domaine des simples est une entreprise ardue et relève essentiellement de la pharmacognosie, dont l'enseignement traite de la matière médicale, notamment d'origine végétale, et comporte en l'occurrence des connaissances sur la flore indienne et la phytonymie sanskrite ainsi que sur la pathologie et la thérapeutique d'après la tradition āyurvédique, écrite et orale. Dans son introduction, l'auteur italien, après quelques généralités sur Suśruta et l'Āyurveda, donne une appréciation du végétal dans la mentalité indienne, avec un aperçu intéressant des catégories sémantiques de la phytonymie sanskrite, qu'avait déjà classifiée, d'après les significations des noms, K.C. Chunekar dans l'introduction à sa thèse inédite de doctorat en Dravyaguṇa.[18] Dans la classification des phytonymes sanskrits, la première catégorie de noms est en rapport avec la morphologie végétale, qui intervient en toute nomenclature vernaculaire des plantes. La recherche étymologique dans ce domaine exige du philologue une connaissance exacte des espèces concernées, comme le montre fort bien une étude sur la phytonymie grecque.[19] À ce sujet, il est à souligner que les dénominations usuelles peuvent refléter tant la morphologie générale d'une plante que l'aspect particulier de telle ou telle de ses parties, qui a attiré l'attention de l'observateur et justifié les associations d'idées, considérées comme responsables de la création lexicale phytonymique.[20]

On est surpris de voir que, pour des généralités āyurvédiques (introduction, p.14), dont l'explication ne manque pas aux publications qui font aujourd'hui autorité en la matière, Maria Vittoria Macrì préfère citer des travaux en manuscrit (P. Filippani Ronconi) ou des ouvrages de valeur discutable (G.U. Thite).[21] D'autre part, la liste des

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[17] Renate Syed, *Die Flora Altindiens in Literatur und Kunst*. Inaugural-Dissertation. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München 1990 (texte ronéotypé) (voir ci-dessus le compte rendu de G.J. Meulenbeld). Pour un ouvrage récent de phytosociologie d'inspiration mythique concernant une autre civilisation ancienne, voir Nathalie Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne. La liste de la tombe thébaine d'Ineni*, Louvain 1988. D'après la notice bibliographique de J. Leclant dans *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1990, 351.

[18] K.C. Chunekar, *Pharmacognostical Studies of some Indian Medicinal Plants*. Ph.D.-thesis in Dravyaguṇa. Banaras Hindu University 1975 (texte dactylographié). Cf. A. Roşu, 'Sur les phytonymes sanskrits dans la botanique médicinale indienne', *Transfert de vocabulaire dans les sciences*, Paris 1988, 327-329.

[19] Suzanne Amigues, 'Phytonymes grecs et morphologie végétale', *Journal des savants*, 1984, 151-173 (*ubi alia*).

[20] Cf. S. Varma, 'Explanatory Names in Sanskrit Vocabulary', *Indian Linguistics*, 15.3-4, 1955-1956, 1-12 (= *Indian Linguistics*. Reprint edition of volumes 1-15. Volume III comprising volumes 9-15 (1944-1956). Poona 1965, 656-667), spécialement pp.4-6 concernant la botanique.

[21] Comptes rendus critiques du livre de G. U. Thite sur les aspects magico-religieux de la médecine indienne, dans *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 27, 1984, 232-244 (R.P. Das discute justement le terme *payas/rasa*, qui intéresse M.V.M.) et *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 30, 1986, 83-89 (notice de A. Roşu).

abréviations (pp.7-8) mentionne plusiers lexiques sanskrits de matière médicale qui ne figurent pas dans la bibliographie de l'ouvrage (pp.315-320). On doit préciser que le *Gaṇanighaṇṭu* de Candranandana, connu de P. Cordier en manuscrit au début du siècle, est resté inédit jusqu'à ce jour.[22] Le *Madhāvanidāna* contient 69 chapitres, non 68 (p.16), du moins d'après d'autres éditions, plus récentes, que celle de Bombay 1902, dont fait mention notre auteur, qui cite par erreur Aruṇadatta comme glossateur de ce compendium médical (p.317). Il s'agit en fait du commentaire *Madhukośa* par Vijayarakṣita (ch.1-32) et Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (ch.33-69). Le savant āyurvédiste Jādavjī Trikamjī Āchārya est l'éditeur intellectuel de Suśruta et non Pāṇḍuraṅg Jāwajī, qui a assuré matériellement la publication de cette édition (Bombay 1938) (p.319).

La première partie du volume contient la liste des phytonymes relevés dans le traité de Suśruta et qui comporte également les équivalents botaniques, supposés exacts, et les références textuelles (pp.43-146), dont la liste n'est pas exhaustive.[23] Sauf erreur de notre part, l'inventaire présente 1311 noms sanskrits de plantes, dont 178 — allant de *aṃśavat* à *audakakanda* — sont traités dans le premier volume, ce qui correspond à environ 15% du total répertorié. L'auteur n'apporte aucune précision sur la répartition de la matière dans les prochains volumes de l'ouvrage ni sur le rythme de leur publication. Il est permis de supposer que le dépouillement du texte sanskrit fut terminé avant que l'on ne commençât à imprimer le vocabulaire, dont nous espérons la poursuite prochaine de la publication. La liste des phytonymes incorpore le vocable *yavāhva* 'soude de cendres d'orge' (p.116), mais omet le synonyme *yavakṣāra*, que Suśruta emploie aussi elliptiquement sous la forme *[yava-]kṣāra*.[24] On lira *varadāru*[25] au lieu de *avaradāruka* (pp.48, 235), dans *Kalpa* 2,5, où la référence au livre de Dastur n'est apparemment pas pertinente, car l'auteur s'y rapporte à l'arbre *śāka* 'teck' (*Tectona grandis* Linn.f.), connu de Bhāvamiśra sous le nom *varadāru*.[26]

Le problème le plus délicat à traiter par Maria Vittoria Macrì était sans doute l'identification des végétaux et l'auteur s'en explique dans la 'premessa' (pp.39-42), qui introduit la liste des phytonymes suśrutiens. Une étude relativement récente[27] a donné un aperçu des cas susceptibles de se présenter à l'indianiste, qui cherche à déterminer botaniquement les noms de plantes āyurvédiques, et suggéré la méthode à appliquer dans cette difficile investigation pluridisciplinaire. La nomenclature botanique grecque

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[22] Voir l'ouvrage précité de G. Liétard et P. Cordier, pp. CVI, 441, 524-525, 568.

[23] Références manquantes s.v. *kuśa* (p.68): *Sūtra* 2,4; s.v. *kola* (p.70): *Nidāna* 16,44; *Śārīra* 10,38; *Cikitsā* 2,53; 35,9; 40,5; *Uttara* 3,27; s.v. *citraka* (p.77): *Kalpa* 5,64; s.v. *madhūka* (pp.108-109): *Sūtra* 38,48; *Cikitsā* 24,7; *Kalpa* 5,82.

[24] B. Singh et K.C. Chunekar, *op.cit.*, p.326.

[25] *Ibid.*, p.359. Cf. G.D. Singhal et R.N. Dwivedi, *Kalpasthāna of Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Varanasi 1976, 36.

[26] K.C. Chunekar et G.S. Pandey, *Bhāvaprakāśa nighaṇṭu*, Varanasi 1979[5], 549.

[27] J. Filliozat et A. Raison, 'Problèmes d'identification de la matière médicale indienne', pp.41-50 dans: *Études sur la médecine indienne* (= Scientia Orientalis 16), Strasbourg 1979. Alix Raison a étudié la plante neurotonique *brāhmī*, dont la détermination botanique intéresse M.V.M.: *Plantes neurotropes dans l'Āyurveda* (= Scientia Orientalis 7), Strasbourg 1977. Au sujet de l'identification des phytonymes indiens, voir aussi R.P. Das, *op.cit.* (note 10), p.56.

ou latine[28] pose peut-être moins de problèmes que la phytonymie sanskrite, notamment médicale. Jean Filliozat pensait que la cohérence des données āyurvédiques, tant anciennes que modernes, garantit la plupart du temps la validité des identifications botaniques de la pharmacopée indienne traditionnelle. Mais, dans l'incertitude, parfois grande,[29] d'autres spécialistes de l'Āyurveda, en particulier G.J. Meulenbeld, préfèrent reproduire les identifications proposées par les divers auteurs.[30] À l'ègard de cette crux — à la fois philologique, botanique et médicale — l'auteur italien, insuffisamment informé en Āyurveda, à suivi les indications de J.F. Dastur et de R.N. Khory, dont les travaux ne sont pas utilisés en général dans la recherche āyurvédique. Il est vrai que la préface (p.6) annonce une troisième partie de l'ouvrage, réservée à un index des synonymes sanskrits pour les végétaux suśrutiens, où l'on trouvera la nomenclature scientifique avec les déterminations botaniques proposées par les divers auteurs, probablement ceux qui figurent dans la bibliographie du premier volume. Le travail d'identification des plantes āyurvédiques exige du chercheur un esprit critique nourri d'une connaissance solide des textes médicaux anciens et de la pratique des *vaidya* contemporains. Il est censé savoir 'apprécier le degré d'autorité de chacune de ces sources' (Jean Filliozat).

Pour la nomenclature savante, Maria Vittoria Macrì a retenu les espèces botaniques recensées à la fin du siècle dernier, dans la Flore indienne de J.D. Hooker et l'*Index Kewensis*. Depuis, les noms scientifiques se sont modifiés d'après les décisions prises par les congrès internationaux des botanistes, dont le dernier remonte à 1987 (Berlin). L'espèce *Habenaria edgeworthii* Hook. (Orchidacées) (p.55) n'est apparemment pas mentionnée par Hooker, comme le confirme l'index général de son l'ouvrage. Les abréviations *Sp(ecies) Pl(antarum)* de Linné et *I(ndex) F(ilicum)* de C.F. Christensen manquent à la liste établie à cet effet (pp.7-8). On remarquera aussi quelques flottements ou imperfections en ce qui concerne les abréviations des noms de botanistes dans la nomenclature scientifique.

La deuxième partie du volume est réservée aux textes traduits en italien (pp.149-312), concernés par 178 phytonymes sanskrits, dont l'initiale est une voyelle ou une diphtongue. On trouve une notice explicative pour chaque dénomination répertoriée, qui précède les textes s'y rapportant. Les traductions fragmentaires du traité suśrutien ne sont pas très élaborées, car elles se présentent plutôt comme des résumés, qui retiennent principalement les noms de simples, avec leurs propriétés et indications thérapeutiques. Maria Vittoria Macrì utilise le commentateur Ḍalhaṇa pour les synonymes de noms de plantes, mais ignore le glossateur Cakrapāṇi, dont la *Bhānumatī* éclaire le *Sūtrasthāna* de Suśruta, et se refuse à toute comparaison avec d'autres données de la médecine classique (Caraka, Vāgbhaṭa). La terminologie āyurvédique est reproduite en sanskrit dans les passages traduits, qui comportent des imperfections et trahissent parfois l'influence malheureuse de la version anglaise de K.L. Bhishagratna. On regrettera l'absence de notes sur la terminologie technique. Peut-être cette lacune sera-t-elle comblée par l'appendice de 'notes critiques' annoncé, dans la préface (p.6), pour le dernier volume.

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[28] Cf. J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*, Paris 1985, VII-XIV.

[29] Cf. le cas de skr. *atasī* et beng. *atasī*: R.P.Das, 'On the English translation of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 138, 1988, 344-345.

[30] Cf. J. Filliozat, compte rendu de l'ouvrage de G. J. Meulenbeld sur le *Mādhavanidāna*, dans *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 74.2, 1979, col.167.

L'auteur aura intérêt à consulter à cet effet l'ouvrage de G.J. Meulenbeld sur le *Mādhavanidāna*, qui contient un très utile appendice sur les termes techniques de l'Āyurveda (p.437-519).[31]

Quelques remarques de détail. Sans aucun support textuel sanskrit, mais inspirée de la version anglaise (vol.I, p.11), Maria Vittoria Macrì insère 'l'imbécillité' (sic) dans la série des maladies inhérentes à la nature humaine *(svābhāvika)* (p.16), dont fait mention Suśruta (*Sūtra* 1,25; cf. Ḍalhaṇa *ad loc.*). Les mots *bhedya* et *chedya* signifient respectivement 'incision' et 'excision', non l'inverse (p.16). Le terme *kuṣṭha* désigne en général les maladies de peau, dont fait partie la lèpre (p.31); traduire *āma* par 'non-cuit' ou 'non-digéré', au lieu de 'constipation' (p.31). Dans *Sūtra* 46,281-282: *kaṭu-vipāka* 'piquant après digestion' au lieu de 'piquant pendant la digestion';[32] *uṣṇa* 'chaud' et *śīta* 'froid', plutôt que 'réchauffant' et 'rafraîchissant' (p.159). Il est préférable de traduire *lavaṇa-meha* par 'urine salée',[33] au lieu de 'degré excessif de salinité dans l'urine', dans *Cikitsā* 11,9, dont la version italienne a omis *haridrā* (p.160). Le passage antérieur porte le composé *dhātu-mākṣīka* (corr. °*-mākṣika*) 'miel minéral', plus exactement 'pyrite' (ressemblant au miel),[34] que l'auteur rend par '*dhātu*, miel' (p.160). La traduction de *udāvarta* par 'constipation' est inadéquate, comme le montre la variété de troubles que désigne ce terme intraduisible et spécifique de la nosologie āyurvédique (pp. 164, 165, 166 manquant de l'index).[35] Le mot *varti* signifie un bâtonnet de pâte utilisé comme collyre dans *Uttara* 11,6-7 (p.181) et *godhā* est un reptile, plus précisément 'varan',[36] non un poisson (p.183). On traduit *śvāsa* par 'essoufflement' ou 'dyspnée', plutôt que par 'asthme' (p.228). Le vocable *jantu* dénote les 'vers' ou les 'parasites' (*kṛmi*, Ḍalhaṇa *ad loc.*), non les 'germes' (p.219). Dans *Uttara* 60,46-48 (p.177), il s'agit de beurre liquide vieux (*purāṇa-sarpis*), car 'plus il vieillit, plus il peut avoir de vertu' (*Hārīta* I,8,85-86). Le passage suśrutien porte aussi l'expression *srotojam añjanam*, qui correspond, vraisemblablement *metri causa*, à une seule substance minérale, i.e. *srotoñjanam* (cf. Ḍalhaṇa *ad loc.*).[37] Maria Vittoria Macrì y voit deux substances, comme K.L. Bhishagratna (vol.III, p.379).

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[31] À ce sujet, voir F. Zimmermann dans *Asian Medicine Newsletter*, 13, 1989, 13.

[32] Sur *vipāka*, voir G.J. Meulenbeld, 'Reflections on the basic concepts of Indian pharmacology', *Studies on Indian Medical History*, 9-11. Cf. P.V. Sharma, *Ḍalhaṇa*, 94-95: ambiguïté sémantique de *vipāka* dans Suśruta.

[33] Cf. J. Filliozat, 'Sur l'identification des maladies dans l'Āyurveda', dans G. Mazars (éd.), *Les médecines traditionnelles d'Asie*, Strasbourg 1981, 145.

[34] R. Garbe, *Die indischen Mineralien*, Leipzig 1882, 12-13, 52-53 (vers 82-86 du *Rājanighaṇṭu* 13). Cf. D.J. Joshi, *Rasaśāstra*, Trivandrum 1986, 117-124.

[35] Cf. J. Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg 1901, 78-79.

[36] G.J. Meulenbeld, *Mādhavanidāna*, 461-462.

[37] Voir Suśruta, *Uttaratantra*, avec l'explication hindie par Ambikādatta Śāstrī, Varanasi 1974[3], p.443[a]. Cf. P.V. Sharma, *Ḍalhaṇa*, 197-198. Voir aussi R. Garbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 54-55 (vers 87-89) et D. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp.158-162.

Une bibliographie (pp.315-320) et trois index utiles terminent le volume (pp.323-344). Quelques précisions. La traduction latine de Suśruta occupent trois volumes, publiés en 1844, 1847 et 1850; l'*Index Kewensis* de 1893-1895 s'étend sur quatre fascicules; la Flore indienne de J. D. Hooker a paru de 1872 à 1897 (pp. 39, 317). Parmi les coquilles et d'autres fautes matérielles du livre sous rubrique la plus gênante est celle qui entache son titre. On écrira *Lexicon phytonymicum* (cf. *patronymicum*) et *Synonymorum index* (pp. 6, 18 n.16, 42), pour se conformer à l'orthographe étymologisante du latin.[38]

Toutes ces remarques générales et observations de détail n'ont d'autre objet que de montrer l'attention que nous avons mise à lire ce premier volume d'un lexique de la phytonymie suśrutienne, qui, bien fait, pourra rendre les plus grands services aux indianistes, en général, et aux historiens de la médecine āyurvédique, en particulier. Nos critiques ne sauraient déprécier les efforts que comporte ce travail de longue haleine, dont la présentation matérielle fait honneur au Centre piémontais pour les études sur le Proche- et l'Extrême-Orient. *Arion Roşu*

Research and Development. A Collection of Recent Contributions concerning Development through Research in Oriental Medicine. Editor-in-chief: R.B. Arora. Editors: Suresh Kumar, Shriram Sharma, Laxmi Bhargava. Orient Medica Congressi: Jammu 1990. 117; 103; 110 pp. Rs. 250.— or US $ 40.—.

Es handelt sich bei diesem Band um nachgedruckte Beiträge aus *The Journal of Research and Education in Indian Medicine* (Bde.8 und 9). Das Werk ist in drei Teile mit jeweils eigener Paginierung unterteilt. Die Beiträge im ersten Teil ('Medicinal Plants') beschäftigen sich mit der Identifizierung, Analyse und medizinischen Verwendung von Pflanzen. Es ist erfreulich, daß gleich der erste Beitrag[39] sich (an Hand mehrerer Beispiele[40]) mit dem Problem der Identifizierung von in medizinischen Werken erwähnten Pflanzen auseinandersetzt,[41] da das Bewußtsein für dieses Problem immer noch viel zu wenig entwickelt ist, vor allem (doch nicht nur) in Indien selbst. Allerdings fehlt jegli-

[38] Cf. W.T. Stearn, *Botanical Latin: History, Grammar, Syntax, Terminology and Vocabulary*, London—Edinburgh 1966, 526.

[39] Kamala Ramachandran und Santosh Mehtani, 'Ayurvedic Drugs — The Need for Correct Identity' (S.1-3).

[40] Ein weiteres, schönes Beispiel ist auch der Aufsatz von Indira Balachandran, 'Notes on the Identity of Sahacara used in Ayurveda' (S.77-80).

[41] Ein m.W. noch nicht ausführlich besprochener, besonders interessanter Fall ist Uttarasthāna 39,60 des *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*; die meisten Editionen, die mir zugänglich waren, geben die erste Vershälfte wieder als: *śreyasīśreyasīyuktāpathyādhātrīsthirāmṛtāḥ*. Von den Kommentaren, die ich einsehen konnte, sagen die von Aruṇadatta und Śivadāsasena zu dem zweimal vorkommenden Pflanzennamen *śreyasī-* nichts. Dem Herausgeber der Nirṇaya-Sāgara-Edition war aber auch eine Handschrift des Kommentars Candranandanas zugänglich (gedruckt ist nur der Kommentar zum Sūtrasthāna); einer Fußnote z.St. entnimmt man, daß Candranandana das erste *śreyasī-* mit *hastipippalī-*, das zweite mit *rāsnā-* erklärt. Ganz anders verhält es sich im Falle des Kairalī-Kommentars; der diesem zu Grunde liegende Text liest *jīvantīśreyasīyuktāpathyā°*. *śreyasī-* wird im Kommentar als *vibhītaka-* erklärt, während *rāsnā-* die Erklärung für *yuktā-* ist.

cher Hinweis darauf, daß in dieser Hinsicht doch einiges unternommen wird (vgl. z.B. die Besprechungen Meulenbelds und Roşus oben). Der zweite Teil des Werkes trägt den Titel 'Oriental Medicine' und ist ein Sammelsurium von Aufsätzen über verschiedene Themen; neben Untersuchungen von Drogen (auch in Bezug auf ihre Verwendung in der allopathischen Medizin) und auch einem Aufsatz über Magnettherapie finden wir Beiträge über Einzelaspekte klassischer indischer Medizin, die (wie leider oft der Fall) bereits Bekanntes nochmals kurz aufwärmen und als Neuheit präsentieren. Daneben gibt es Aufsätze, bei denen man sich fragt, warum sie nicht im ersten Teil untergebracht wurden, da sie ähnliche Themen wie die dort behandelten Beiträge zum Gegenstand haben. Der dritte Teil schließlich beschäftigt sich, wie schon sein Titel verdeutlicht ('Yoga') mit Yoga. Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen handelt es sich allerdings nicht um die bekannten Verherrlichungen von Yoga, sondern um Untersuchungen zu seiner praktischen therapeutischen Anwendung, bei der in einigen Fällen offenbar beachtenswerte Erfolge erzielt wurden. Ein besonders interessanter Aufsatz ist der von S.V. Vyavahare, 'Yoga for Jail Inmates with Special Reference to its Effect on their Criminal Behaviour' (S.87-91); auch wenn die Behauptungen des Autors sich eventuell als übertrieben herausstellen sollten, scheint der Einsatz von Yoga bei der Rehabilitation doch zu positiven Ergebnissen zu führen, wobei allerdings die Zugehörigkeit der Insassen zu einem gewissen Kulturkreis eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle spielen könnte.

Rahul Peter Das

Antonella Comba, *La medicina indiana (Āyurveda)*. (With a preface by Arion Roşu.) Promolibri: Torino 1991. 239 pp.

The present work provides the Italian-reading public with a reliable introduction to the classical doctrine of Āyurvedic medicine largely based on Antonella Comba's study of the Carakasaṃhitā, one of the main sources for our knowledge of Āyurvedic medicine. She begins by explaining that Āyurveda is not the only medical system used in India. The name itself means 'the knowledge of (how to attain) long life', and Āyurveda is accordingly a philosophy of life. In her brief introduction (pp.17-31) Comba points out some of the difficulties involved in acquiring an understanding of Āyurveda. The classical texts contain virtually no descriptions of clinical cases and tend towards theorising although no formal coherent philosophical system is presented. The philologist endeavouring to interpret the texts is confronted among other things by the difficulty that the Sanskrit technical terms have in the course of time acquired new meanings in accordance with the advance in medical knowledge so that the meanings current in India should not be imputed to the ancient texts any more than we should be too hasty in equating the ancient terms with terms used in modern Western medicine. Moreover, the prescriptions recorded in the texts contain many plant names that are difficult to identify scientifically. The introduction also contains a brief section on the classical sources of Āyurveda, although Comba mainly uses the Carakasaṃhitā as the basis of her exposition. It is however somewhat surprising to find no mention of such early texts as those contained in the Bower manuscript or Ravigupta's Siddhasāra.

Following the introduction the work is divided into two parts, part one being devoted to the theoretical basis of Āyurveda and part two to its practice. Each chapter is concluded with endnotes that provide precise references to the authorities cited. It is

commendable that even in this "popular" work the standard transcription of Sanskrit is used and yet there are comparatively few misprints.

In accordance with her special interest, Comba devotes the first chapter (pp.35-77) on the theoretical basis of Āyurveda to a detailed discussion of the relationship between Āyurveda and the Indian philosophical systems of Vaiśeṣika and Sāṃkhya, which are acknowledged by the classical authors themselves to have influenced their thinking. The second chapter (pp.78-102) is concerned with the Āyurvedic teaching about anatomy and physiology. Here Comba expounds briefly the basic doctrine of the three *doṣas* and their relationship with the elements. She does not list the parts of the body on the grounds that the translation and interpretation of many terms 'remains problematical' (p.97). She does not even discuss such matters as the 360 *asthi* etc. listed by Caraka, *Śā* 7.6. Instead she turns her attention to a discussion of the seven *dhātus*.

Part two contains chapters devoted to 'Doctors and patients' (pp.105-122), 'Pathology, diagnosis and prognosis' (pp.123-146), 'Elixirs and aphrodisiacs' (pp.147-159), 'Therapeutics' (pp.160-194), 'Embryology, obstetrics and gynaecology' (pp.195-215). These chapters provide clearly written expositions of the teaching on these subjects found in Caraka, supplemented where necessary with material from elsewhere, mainly from Suśruta.

In accordance with her endeavour to adhere closely to the Carakasaṃhitā, Comba's conclusion (pp.217-218) is a quotation from Caraka, *Śā* 5.12, where Caraka describes in detail the way those persons should behave who seek emancipation (*mumukṣu*).

The book contains an appendix (pp.219-227) on Caraka's thirty-six *tantrayukti* (rules for composing a technical treatise); an 'essential bibliography' (pp.229-233), a list of thirty-six Sanskrit plant names with their modern botanical names (p.234), a subject index (pp.235-238) — which, however, does not include references to the plants discussed —, and a small list of abbreviations (p.239).

Ronald E. Emmerick

Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, science, religion and the scope of rationality*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge etc. 1990. (The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures 1984.) xi;187 pp. £ 27.95 or US $ 42.50 (hardcover), £ 9.95 or US $ 14.95 (paperback). ISBN 0-521-37486-3 and 0-521-37631-9.

Though one might not agree fully with all its formulations, one could hardly sum up, in brief, the subject-matter of this book in a manner much differing from that on the back of its cover: 'Most anthropologists who have attempted to demarcate and contrast magic, science and religion as cross-cultural categories appear to have been unaware of the rich and long intellectual history of Western thought which framed their own specialized writings. In this book, Professor Tambiah reexamines magic, science and religion within the framework of this history, including the Judaic religion, early Greek science, Renaissance philosophy, the Protestant Reformation, and the European scientific revolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He establishes the influence of this legacy on anthropological discourse, and then considers the contents and implications of three interpretative approaches: the intellectualist and evolutionary theories of Tylor and Frazer, Malinowski's functionalism, and Lévy-Bruhl's distinction between mystical and

logical mentalities. This is followed by a discussion of rationality, relativism, and the translation and commensurability of cultures, which are all key issues in contemporary anthropology and philosophy today. The book ends with an assessment of the implications of recent developments in the history and philosophy of science for the discussion of magic, science and religion.'

Actually, the discussion of the theories of Tylor et al. and the debate initiated by them make up the bulk of this study. One cannot expect Tambiah, in this relatively slim volume, to have covered all aspects and implications of the cited theories and all the twists and turns of the resultant counter-theories and discussions in detail, but his brief presentations are nevertheless extremely stimulating, for he not only lets the various protagonists air their arguments and point out the inconsistencies of the others' positions, but also does not shun from personal involvement in the discussion in that he too comments on the logical consistencies or inconsistencies of various positions and the difficulties of reconciling these with *all* the data. Though the outcome of the whole may leave those looking for clear solutions frustrated, Tambiah succeeds in highlighting the problems connected with universalistic explanations and clear-cut delimitations. Ultimately he shows, even though he makes no attempt to hide his occasional preference for one or the other, the pitfalls connected with attempts to formulate universally valid 'models', 'frameworks' or 'structures'. This is particularly gratifying to this reviewer, who, though having a South Asian background, comes from a tradition different from that not only of Tambiah, but of more or less all the scholars discussed or cited in his work, namely from the 'philological'[42] German tradition of classical Indology, and has recently crossed swords on related issues of grappling with data, though in another context.[43]

As a sequel to this discussion of the views of others, Tambiah also discusses the problems inherent in such terms as 'rational', 'reality' and the like, both in the field of (social) anthropology and in our modern Western environment, also remarking on the problems of studying cultures other than one's own.[44] It is possible to argue not only with several of the theses, but also with several of the formulations of Tambiah, who does not fight shy of controversy, but that cannot obscure the fact that this part of his book too serves to sharpen our awareness for the problems involved and makes us realise that things are not always as easy as they may seem at first glance.

Tambiah has clearly not set out to give us ready answers, but to show up problems, especially those connected with ready answers. This alone would justify the hope that his book be widely read.

However, every silver lining seems to have a cloud; Tambiah's study is no exception. One of the first things that strikes one on going through it is a characteristic found in many scholarly works published in English (particularly in the natural and social

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[42] The inverted commas signify that what characterises this tradition is not only philological textual studies, but a certain methodology which it sees as being applicable to spheres of study other than textual too.

[43] See 'On the Subtle Art of Interpreting', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 111, 1991, 737-767.

[44] Much of the discussion on this latter topic could also have led on to the discussion on 'emic' and 'etic', which Tambiah however (who does not mention these two terms) has chosen not to include in this work.

sciences), namely that what is not written in or translated into English does not seem to exist for them. Many of the works of the more famous French scholars in Tambiah's field of interest have been translated into English, and he makes ample use of these, as also of the works of scholars who, wholly or partly, wrote in German, such as Freud, Weber, Habermas,[45] Wittgenstein, Popper and Mach,[46] i.e. of the better-known philosophers relevant to the issue. What we do not find taken account of is the long tradition of discussion, in German, on the problem of religion and magic, as exemplified e.g. in the works (which have to my knowledge not been translated into English) of Karl Beth, Alfred Bertholet, Theodor Wilhelm Danzel, Ludwig Deubner, Arnold Gehlen, Willy Hellpach,[47] Adolf Ellegard Jensen, Will-Erich Peuckert[48] etc., as also of the modern debate on this subject, in which a great number of scholars is participating.[49] These remarks should not be misunderstood; their object is not to pick holes in a scholar's work simply because he may not be able to read French or German (or Russian, Japanese or what not), but because ignoring a very relevant scholarly tradition and debate leads to the perpetuation of a lop-sided view of the subject — a few lines drawing attention to the fact that, due to difficulties of language, relevant parts of the debate on the subject in question (as defined by the title of the book itself) could not be taken into account would have sufficed to sharpen the reader's awareness in this regard.[50]

It may perchance be the language barrier too which has not allowed Tambiah to pay attention to (not *the*, but) one of the most important sources for the study of the problem of 'religion', 'magic' and 'science', namely the Vedic texts, particularly the Brāhmaṇas and certain Sūtras, and the discussion their study has led to, most (though not all) of it in German and not yet translated; this discussion on the magical *Weltbild* is also of relevance for our understanding of ancient Indian medicine.[51] This leads on to another weakness of Tambiah's work, evident in those cases in which he leaves his home turf, especially in the first part of his book: whether he writes of mediaeval Christianity, of Judaic religion, of Greek science, of Protestantism or of other subjects not

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[45] Whose first name is given as 'Jurgen'; surely the CUP has the requisite fonts for giving us the correct name: Jürgen.

[46] Marcuse is represented by an English work.

[47] Who coined the term 'magethos'.

[48] Especially his 'Pansophie' and 'Gabalia'.

[49] For a preliminary overview of this tradition in German see e.g. Leander Petzoldt (ed.), *Magie und Religion. Beiträge zu einer Theorie der Magie*, Darmstadt 1978, H.G. Kippenberg, Brigitte Luchesi (ed.), *Magie. Die sozialwissenschaftliche Kontroverse über das Verstehen fremden Denkens*, Frankfurt am Main 1978, H. Cancik, B. Gladigow, M. Laubscher (ed., with G. Kehrer and H.G. Kippenberg), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, Stuttgart etc. 1988— (two volumes have appeared to date), in all of which the literature in German is given its due place.

[50] One also cannot fail to notice the absence of reference to Mircea Eliade, who is usually mentioned in such contexts, as also of the discussion centring on alchemy, even though this branch of learning stands more or less at the focal point of the problem of the relationship between "religion", "magic" and "science" (cf. in this regard also the articles of Balbir and Roşu in this issue, on alchemy in South Asian contexts).

[51] For further particulars cf. the review article 'Indische Medizin und Spiritualität' (pp.158-187 above).

falling within the realm of his own field, he has of necessity to rely on the works of others. The reasons for choosing one and not another authority to follow seem to the reader however quite arbitrary, and one wonders whether Tambiah is always aware of the problems associated with such selective following of authorities, or even of the whole range of opinion existing in the different fields he touches. Such a methodology also leads to sweeping generalisations, such as for instance statements on *the* Indian (as if there were such a thing, either from a synchronic or a diachronic point of view),[52] on 'evil' in 'Hinduism' (which latter remains undefined),[53] or on *the* doctrines of *the* āyurvedic system.[54] An undifferentiated and sweeping statement such as the following is bound to raise eyebrows not only among Indologists, but also among Iranists, Indo-Europeanists and classical philologists: 'Gods as well as men are subject to the order of the cosmos (Hindu *rita*, Greek *moira*, Persian *asha*). There are no fixed bounds between gods and men so that men can aspire to be gods, and are open to the benefits of apotheosis' (p.7). One is thus inclined, even though one may oneself not know much about the particular subject, to be sceptical when Tambiah offers explanations of his own obviously based only on his selective usage of secondary sources; cf. e.g.: 'It is my submission that this emphasis on religion as a system of beliefs, and the distinction between prayer and spell, the former being associated with "religious" behaviour and the latter with "magical" acts, was a Protestant legacy which was automatically taken over by later Victorian theorists like Tylor and Frazer, and given a universal significance as both historical and analytical categories useful in tracing the intellectual development of mankind from savagery to civilization' (p.19). What Tambiah supposes may in actual fact be quite correct, but the scepticism of those not able to verify it themselves will remain.

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[52] Thus we also find statements like: 'The Indian propensity is to enlarge the inner world (radically manifest in the yogi's meditation and the artist's *sadhana*) rather than act on the outer one' (p.100). This is sure to make an Indologist blanch. It is based on the works of Sudhir Kakar, whose writings, with all due respect, belong to a tradition of stringing together snippets of information into a suave theory without independent in-depth studies of individual problems, as exemplified e.g. in Tambiah's statement l.c.: 'Kakar also connects the Indian child's prolonged emotional dependence on the mother to the salience of the *bhakti* type of religious devotion and emotional orientations of protective care, dependence, awe and humility, which connote in the extreme cases of saints like Sri Ramakrishna a "religiously sublimated femininity", which is basically an apodictic statement claiming absolute validity, without even examining the validity and/or implications of the various individual notions it is based upon, and also neglecting (and oblivious of?) material which might not fit, as in this case the traditions wide-spread in Bengal (and also in "Tantrism" as such) of "becoming a woman" in the context of the macrocosmic and microcosmic duality of the divine principle. On the other hand, such theories fit notions prevalent in certain Western or Westernised scholarly circles wonderfully, and their ultimate aim seems to lie more in self-affirmation than in understanding the material studied, which leads us straight to one of the problems Tambiah himself touches upon.

[53] On p.8 Tambiah quotes Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, who has managed to write a whole book on the origins of "evil" in "Hindu" mythology, without even *examining* first what "evil" is, expecially in her "Hindu" context (we only read on pp.6f. of op.cit. by Tambiah that all others before have erred and not seen that "evil" in the "Hindu" context is actually that which she then proceeds to define apodictically), who does not even see the problems of mixing up categories like "sin" or "evil", and who on pp.9ff. (op.cit.) admits that she herself is not quite sure what actually she is examining and how to do so, but is nevertheless convinced that she is doing it correctly!

[54] Cf. pp.133ff. On the problems connected with such statements see too op.cit. in n.51, which also touches upon the problem of simply claiming "shamanism" to be present in Indian medicine (as done here too on p.134), seemingly without awareness of what the term "shamanism" implies.

All this should not be taken to be mere piddling carping, since it has to do with basics which ultimately decide on the quality of scholarly endeavour. Happily, the bulk of Tambiah's study is not greatly affected by such matters, and can as such nonetheless be warmly recommended, with the proviso to be critical when the author strays off his home turf, and to bear in mind that parts of the scholarly debate on the theme chosen have not been taken account of.

Finally, a suggestion to the publisher: the reader would be shown much consideration if the notes, which are after all meant for running consultation, were printed at the bottom of the page and not at the end of the book, entailing tedious leafing back and forth.

Rahul Peter Das

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